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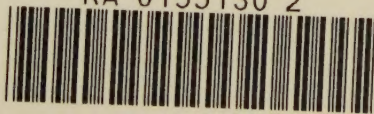
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MEDIEVAL  
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME



# MEDIEVAL NEWCASTLE- UNDER-LYME

BY

T. PAPE, M.A., F.S.A.

GARNER MEDALIST, 1924; LYNAM PRIZEMAN, 1925 AND 1927

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## PREFACE.

SIXTEEN years ago, as a research student under the guidance of Professors Tout and Tait at Manchester University, I began to collect information for the medieval history of Newcastle-under-Lyme. War conditions in the autumn of 1914 compelled me to lay aside my note-books. During the next eleven years the records transcribed were being studied, but no real attempt was made to select and arrange the material into a connected story. The incentive and the opportunity to do this came in the summer of 1925. In the autumn of that year there was to be the first award of the Charles Lynam Memorial Prize for the best piece of original work on the archæology or history of Staffordshire. The will to complete the work arose from an accident on the cricket field. A ruptured muscle in my leg prevented me from taking any exercise, so I immediately decided to concentrate on writing the early history of Newcastle. The thesis concluded in September gained in November the first award of the Lynam prize. After the Appendix on the Manor Court Rolls had been added in 1926, and the research degree granted at Manchester, the press of that University undertook publication. Such, briefly, is the story of this book.

The original intention was to narrate the history of Newcastle as far as the charter of incorporation granted by Elizabeth in 1590, but that would have meant at least two additional chapters, a considerable lengthening of Appendix G, and a consequent increase in the price of the book. No bibliography has been added because it is unnecessary, as the authorities consulted are specified in the text or in the foot-notes. Besides the calendars, my chief sources of printed information have been the volumes of the William Salt Archæological Society (denoted by *S.H.C.* in the text). The references to articles which have appeared in the "English Historical Review" are abbreviated to *E.H.R.* Many of the Manor Court Rolls of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and the twenty-eight fifteenth-century Ministers' Accounts relating to Newcastle in the Duchy of Lancaster records have been abstracted or transcribed at the Public Record Office in London. Locally I have photographed and copied the original charters, and the corporation Minutes extant in abbreviated Latin from Edward III's reign have been copied and extended down to the year 1633.

I am indebted to many for kindly help. Without the sympathetic consideration of his headmaster, an assistant master

cannot hope to undertake a long piece of historical research work. Therefore I thank especially Dr. T. F. Rutter, who encouraged in many ways the publication of my little book entitled "The Educational Endowments of Newcastle-under-Lyme," who made it possible for me to attend Mr. A. G. Little's palæography classes at Manchester University, and is a liberal subscriber to the present work. My thanks are due to Mr. J. Griffith, the Town Clerk of Newcastle, who has granted me facilities to study the records in his custody ; also to the County Education Committee, who made a special holiday grant in 1914 for research at the Public Record Office. I am glad of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to a public body which could appreciate such an unusual application as mine. Professor Tout's advice and suggestions in the pre-war period and occasionally afterwards were very helpful. Mr. A. G. Little carefully compared my transcripts of the early charters with my photographs of the originals. Mr. Charles Johnson and Mr. V. H. Galbraith of the Public Record Office performed a similar service in the case of difficult passages from the Corporation Minutes. In the course of publication, I have enjoyed the harmonious co-operation of Mr. H. M. McKechnie, the Secretary of the University Press.

The drawings of the Borough Seal and of the mediæval map have been made by my son. There is no map of Newcastle as early as the fifteenth century, but the boundary of the borough at that time is known, and all the names inserted have been found before 1500. The exact confines of the common fields in early times are not known, so only their approximate positions, with the nineteenth-century enclosures, will be found on the map.

But my chief acknowledgments are due to Professor Tait, who has been a ready help in all difficulties and at all times. His constructive criticism during the revision and preparation of the work for publication was ever an incentive to strive for the greatest accuracy possible.

Paradoxical though it may appear, I began this work at the Middle School ; I finished it at the Orme Boys' School, and now my school address is the County Grammar School, Wolstanton ; and yet they are not three schools, but one school.

Finally, as most of my research work is done at home, I appreciate—because I have experienced it—what a help and an inspiration is a patient and sympathetic wife.

T. PAPE.

BLACKFRIARS HOUSE,  
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ORIGIN OF NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

IN the low-lying part of the town only a large green mound, a brook flowing past the foot of it, and a few place-names remain to testify to the beginnings of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Although the erection of the castle that led to the formation of the borough cannot be definitely dated, it is quite possible to fix narrow limits within which Ranulf Gernons, earl of Chester, threw up the "motte" and protected it by constructing the castle pool.

In the Domesday survey of 1086 no reference is made to Newcastle-under-Lyme. At that time, to the north of the present borough, was the manor of Wolstanton, and to the east was the manor of Penkhull, both of which King William held by escheat of the lands of Edwin, the last earl of Mercia, and of his brother-in-law, earl Harold; to the south was Trentham, which had been held by Edward the Confessor, part of the "*vetus dominicum coronæ*."

The first-known reference to Newcastle-under-Lyme is in a charter, the date of which for long was undetermined, granted to Ranulf Gernons by king Stephen, evidently when the latter was very hard pressed, as the concessions were so extravagant. Either December, 1140, or February, 1141, was assigned by Dr. W. Farrer in "*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*," as well as by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, in his notes on the "*Staffordshire Chartulary*."<sup>1</sup>

A date eight years later was suggested by Mr. J. H. Round,<sup>2</sup> who carefully analysed the policy of the earl of Chester during the anarchy of Stephen's reign. A still more searching account of all the events bearing upon this and other grants published by Professor Tait<sup>3</sup> in 1904 has definitely confirmed the date first assigned by Mr. Round.

By Stephen's charter, Ranulf Gernons, earl of Chester, among many other concessions, obtained the restoration of all his

<sup>1</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *E.H.R.*, X, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Medieval Manchester*, pp. 163-74.

castles, possession of certain land in the manor of Grimsby which Robert<sup>4</sup> earl of Gloucester "habuit," and the gift of "Novum Castellum de Staffordshira cum omnibus eidem pertinentibus." The mere mention of Newcastle in 1149 proves that the "Castle" was in existence in Stephen's reign, and in all probability the powerful earl had turned to his own use<sup>5</sup> this particular piece of Crown property that was now assured to him by royal grant.

Before 1146 Ranulf Gernons held sway in the heart of the north midlands, where his sphere of operations extended from Chester in the west to Lincoln in the east and Coventry in the south. To break the line between the castles of Chester and Lincoln only earl Ferrers of Derby had any territorial claim, and however friendly his rival might be, the earl of Chester would certainly strengthen his own possessions by establishing beyond "the Lym" an outpost at Newcastle.

As from 1142 to 1146 Ranulf had been an armed neutral in the civil war, "with no wish to oppose the king so long as he was left in possession of Lincoln and the other portions of Crown demesne of which he had obtained possession,"<sup>6</sup> it is not at all unlikely that this was the period when he strengthened his north midland possessions by the erection of the "New Castle of Staffordshire."

The year 1146 was one of the turning-points in the great struggle between the Empress and Stephen, for then the fortunes of war inclined very definitely in the latter's favour. When in that year Ranulf Gernons had been captured at Northampton, he was released only on the condition that he surrendered his castles, and so it became possible for Stephen to spend that Christmas at Lincoln Castle. From a study of the period there does not seem any suitable occasion for the restoration of the earl of Chester's castles before 1149. In May of that year, at a meeting at Carlisle between David of Scotland, Ranulf Gernons, and young Henry of Anjou, who had come over to plan a new attack upon Stephen, David ceded to the earl of Chester the Honor of Lancaster in lieu of any hereditary claim the latter might have upon Carlisle.

Now when king Stephen in 1149 bought by large concessions the support of Ranulf Gernons, he would recognise that loyalty was not a strong trait in the character of the earl of Chester.

<sup>4</sup> Robert died in October, 1147.

<sup>5</sup> Regales possessiones . . . usurpando latissime invasit. *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Series), p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *E.H.R.*, X, 89.

Therefore he would not be surprised when in 1153 the earl was won over to Henry's side by a higher bid than he himself could offer. Henry, in a charter issued at Devizes, confirmed to Ranulf the concessions made by Stephen, and he added all the Crown demesne in Nottingham and in Stafford and Staffordshire (except Cannock Chase), and many other possessions, including the Honor of William Peverel. Not for long did the earl of Chester enjoy this rapid rise in his fortunes, for a few months after the Devizes charter he was dead, killed, so it is said, by the disinherited William Peverel. As earl Ranulf's son was only six years old, and as in the following year Henry ascended the throne after Stephen's death, the new king had no difficulty in recovering what he would consider was only a temporary concession which he had been almost compelled to make to a very powerful subject. Accordingly, in 1154, among the many grants then resumed by King Henry II was Newcastle-under-Lyme.

#### THE NEW CASTLE.

Let us briefly consider what was this "New Castle under Lyme." In the middle of the twelfth century it may have been called the "New Castle" simply because it was of quite recent erection, but all the earlier historians of Staffordshire consider that the Roman "castra" at Chesterton was the *old castle*. The identification of Chesterton with Mediolanum somewhere between Uriconium and Chester, according to the Roman road book known as the Antonine Itinerary, is still an open question. Although now there is very little left of the 23-acre camp at Chesterton except the deep fosse on the north-west side, which until recent years was dry, the sixteenth and seventeenth century Staffordshire historians all consider that Newcastle was so named by reason of this old "castle" a mile and a half away up the valley. Trial excavations thirty years ago, and again in 1925, have yielded practically no result, yet in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign the stone and lime still remaining at Chesterton proved that there had been walls of great thickness at this Roman camp.<sup>7</sup> Of the three definitely known Roman roads passing through Staffordshire, the two which have their junction at Wall, near Lichfield, are easily traceable, but the one through the northern half, connecting Little Chester near Derby with Chester, is not clearly defined in some parts. Rykenild Street, mentioned

<sup>7</sup> Erdeswicke, *Staffordshire* (1844), p. 22.

in the foundation charter of Hulton Abbey, Chesterton and Red Street indicate the line of it through the pottery district.

Recently it has been suggested that perhaps the " Old " Castle was at Trentham, and two pieces of evidence have been adduced to support this view : (1) Some land at Trentham on an old map is called " Castle " field ; and (2) according to the Pipe Rolls at Michaelmas, 1169, the sheriff accounts for a shilling for payment withheld from one knight of Trentham Castle.<sup>8</sup>

But, as will be shown later,<sup>9</sup> there seems no good reason for departing from the view of Erdeswicke, Camden, Chetwynd, and Plot that the New Castle was so called to distinguish it from the old " castra " at Chesterton. In any case, it does not seem reasonable to suggest that the " New " Castle mentioned in 1149 received its title to distinguish it from a castle to which the first reference, so far as we know, was made in 1169.

#### THE LYME.

The earliest records of Newcastle-under-Lyme are contained in the Pipe Rolls, the accounts which the Sheriff rendered annually to the King's Exchequer, and in them in the second half of the twelfth century the usual way of naming Newcastle is *Novum Castellum* (or *Novum Oppidum*, if the adjacent town is meant), with the addition of *subtus Lymam* or *sub Lima*.

It is rather difficult to decide what the *Lyme* was. It certainly was not the Lyme brook, for there were several towns with names referring to the Lyme, miles away from the stream, such as Burslem (Burwardeslyme in the Middle Ages), Whitmore-under-Lyme, Audlem (Old Lyme), and Lyme Handley. Then, again, it does not seem to be derived from the Latin word *limes*, meaning a boundary. We should have to assume that a word *lyme*, " boundary," was in living use in M.E. times,<sup>10</sup> but since Lyme Handley, Audlem, and Burslem are all mentioned in the Domesday survey, the word *Lyme* must date from O.E. times, when a loan direct from the Latin *limes* cannot be seriously considered. All the explanatory references in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show that a great woodland district or forest stretched along S.E. Lancashire, E. Cheshire, N.W. Staffordshire, and N.E. Shropshire. About the year 1124, in a Cartulary of St. Peter's Abbey, Norton-in-Hales was stated to be situated " iuxta nemus

<sup>8</sup> North Staffs. Field Club Trans., XLVII, pp. 144-50.

<sup>9</sup> *Vide* Chap. II, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>10</sup> E. Ekwall, *Lancashire Place Names*, Chet. Soc., N.S., Vol. 81, p. 24.

quod Lima dicitur ” ; <sup>11</sup> about 1195 the forest of Lyme is said to form the boundary of Cheshire, “ Cestrie provincia, Lime nemoris limite lateraliter clausa ” ; <sup>12</sup> in a charter of 1215 the Earl of Chester exempted his Cheshire barons from doing service “ extra Lymam ” ; <sup>13</sup> and in 1259 the earl’s men of Cheshire were licensed to approve the waste from the wood which is called Lyme—“ de Bosco qui vocatur Lima.” <sup>14</sup> The expression *extra Lymam* in Ranulf de Blundeville’s 1215 charter seems to imply “ outside the boundary of the Palatinate,” and does not specifically refer to the elm forest on the border between Cheshire and Staffordshire, though that Lyme forest did actually separate the Palatinate from the earl’s possessions in Lindsey and in the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, Stafford, and Warwick. Just because the woodland belt formed a boundary confusion about the meaning of “ under-Lyme ” soon arose, though evidently it originally meant “ near the Lyme forest.”

#### THE TYPE OF CASTLE.

We have already noted that the castle would be conveniently situated for the earl of Chester at the junction of the ways leading from Cheshire either to Leicestershire and Lincolnshire or southwards to Warwickshire. From the evidence of the written record and of the site itself, we can imagine what Ranulf Gernons did when he ordered his “ new castle ” to be constructed. He wanted a defensive position that could not only be thrown up quickly, but such as could easily be defended by a few men. So he utilised the Lyme brook. Near it an artificially raised and entrenched mound was earthed up and upon it a timber-built fortress was most likely erected, while in the direction of the Lower Green the enclosed platform known as a bailey extended on a lower level. Many similar castles of the motte and bailey type were thrown up all over England in the century after the Norman invasion. For increased protection, the stream, after flowing past the castle mound, was dammed up, and the Pool Dam served a double purpose. Instead of a moat a pool surrounded the castle, and by the dam a mill was erected. To the north-west of the castle mound another dam, the Rotterdam,

<sup>11</sup> *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, Vol. I, p. 26. This and the following references are given by Ekwall.

<sup>12</sup> *Liber Luciani de laude Cestrie*, Lancs. and Ches. Rec. Soc., Vol. 64, p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> *Chart. Chester Abbey*, Chet. Soc., N.S., Vol. 79, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> *Annales Cestrienses*, Rec. Soc., Vol. 14, p. 76.

regulated the flow of the Lyme brook into the pool, the lateral boundaries of which are still indicated by the " Poolfield " sloping upwards to the south-west, and the " Pool side " on the north-east, now a street, but as recently as seventy years ago a stream which supplied the last of the old mills by the Pool Dam with its water power.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE BOROUGH.<sup>1</sup>

FROM 1154, when Henry II succeeded to the throne and resumed possession of many of the estates which Ranulf Gernons had acquired, the New Castle under Lyme remained for about sixty years in royal hands ; and for the upkeep of the castle the king assigned the services and revenues of his adjacent vills. The sheriff of the county was deputed to see that all necessary repairs for the maintenance of the castle were duly carried out, and he was authorised to deduct the cost from the amount he paid into the royal exchequer. Most of our information both about the new castle and the early borough is derived from the sheriff's accounts as recorded on the Pipe Rolls. On the first roll ending at Michaelmas, 1155, Robert de Stafford rendered account of the Staffordshire farm, but not of Newcastle. There was a note to the effect that £30 (librates) in Newcastle were to be accounted for in Worcestershire by a special farmer, William de Beauchamp, who was also the sheriff of that county.<sup>2</sup> Next year William de Beauchamp was mentioned as accounting for £30 in Trentham with appurtenances. Here we first notice that by the farm of Trentham the sheriff may be referring to the farm of Newcastle. Eyton in his transcript of the Pipe Roll of the first year of the reign of Henry II (1154-55) makes William de Beauchamp, or rather William Comin in his stead, account for thirty librates *and four solidates* <sup>3</sup> in Newcastle, but where did Eyton get his four solidates ? The abstract of this Pipe Roll in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* and the originals of subsequent rolls give £30 only. His suggestion that the thirty librates refer to Crown land in

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the references are from the Pipe Rolls as published in *S.H.C.*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Red Book of Exch.*, Rolls Series, Vol. II, pp. 652, 656.

<sup>3</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 17. Eyton had before him only the thirteenth century abstract of the roll (which is lost) contained in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

Trentham and the four solidates to Crown land in Newcastle-under-Lyme <sup>4</sup> is not supported by other references which we shall consider. As in 1156, so in the next eight years, William de Beauchamp, still sheriff of Worcestershire, accounted for the £30 due from the farm of Trentham. In 1163-64 Walter Hose of Penkridge, in Staffordshire, took over from Beauchamp and accounted for the Trentham farm of £30. At Michaelmas, 1165, for the first time, the farm of Trentham was accounted for in the Staffordshire Pipe Roll. Then for three years Walter Hose rendered no account of the same farm, but on the Staffordshire Pipe Roll for 1168-69 Hervey de Stratton, who was the Staffordshire sheriff, took over the Trentham account from Hose. This farm of £30 was payable in "blanch" money, that is, at a higher standard than the money in ordinary circulation (*de numero*). The money in circulation was below the standard weight, and when payments were made in the ordinary currency a percentage had to be deducted in order to get at the real value. The lessened amount was known as "blanch" money, and the calculation whereby the real value was obtained was known as "blanching." <sup>5</sup>

Let us consider in detail how the sheriff accounted for the Trentham farm of £30 *blanch* money. He had first of all shown in connection with the farm of Staffordshire that there was due to him a "superplus" of £6 5s. 7d. *blanch*, so the first thing that was done by the exchequer officials when he accounted for the Trentham farm was to credit him with this *superplus de Comitatu*. He also received allowance for Trentham lands alienated and for payments made by royal order. The lands given to the Knights of the Temple at Keele came to £2 3s. 7d. *numero*. Also, reckoned in the ordinary currency, were £5 to John the chaplain (of the earl of Chester), <sup>6</sup> £1 10s. to Waldeve, <sup>7</sup> £9 2s. 6d. for the cost of ten serjeants, and 8s. 8d. for pasture land which the king had granted to John Le Strange. He paid into the treasury £5 18s. 9d. *blanch*, and he owed 9s. 2d. *blanch*. Here is the account in *blanch* money :—

<sup>4</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Because it was a substitute for actual assay of the coins. The percentage deducted was a shilling in the pound.

<sup>6</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Of Chesterton. *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 87.

<i>Received.</i>		<i>Paid.</i>			
The farm of Trentham	£30	" Superplus de Comitatu "	.	£6	5 7
		Knights Templars	£2	3	7
		John the Chaplain	5	0	0
		Waldeve	1	10	0
		Ten serjeants	9	2	6
		John Le Strange	0	8	8
		(numero)	£18	4	9 = 17 6 6
		Paid into Treasury	.	.	5 18 9
		Balance due	.	.	0 9 2
					£30 0 0

The total of £18 4s. 9d. paid in ordinary currency became £17 6s. 6d. in *blanch* money, exactly 5 per cent. less, which was, as we have seen, the regular Exchequer deduction.

Among the Crown debts on the same roll is that which Walter Hose owed for three years' arrears (*viz.* in 1166, 1167, and 1168) of the farm of Trentham. He paid, accounting for £30 *numero* each year, but as the Trentham farm ought to be paid in *blanch* money, he was rightly surcharged a total of £4 10s. for the three years, and next year he paid this off. Also, on this roll there is the first mention of any repairs connected with the castle. The bridge of the new castle was repaired at a cost of £6 by the writ of the Justiciar, Richard de Lucy, and under the supervision of Peter de Birmingham and Ivo Pantulf. The sheriff charged his county account with the cost as part of his expenses.

No doubt the ten serjeants, whose pay amounted to £9 2s. 6d., provided the garrison of a castle, though, as yet, we are not sure that the "New Castle" is intended. Was there another castle at Trentham? We have already noticed that the farm of Trentham in its earliest record on the Pipe Rolls was referred to as the farm of Newcastle, and we shall soon see in further records that Trentham and Newcastle have a close financial association. The last item on the 1168-69 Pipe Roll states that the sheriff renders account of twelve pence for the withdrawal of one knight (*militis*) from the castle of Trentham. Did the sheriff mean the New Castle found in the parish of Trentham? <sup>8</sup> It has already been pointed out that the Trentham of the Pipe Rolls from 1156 onwards seems to be the New Castle of the roll of 1154-55, the first of the reign. The difference of name attracted the attention of those who compiled the *Red Book of the Exchequer* in the thirteenth century. In a series of notes of the amounts of farms in the different counties drawn from the Pipe Rolls of Henry II

<sup>8</sup> *Vide* Chap. V, p. 34 *et seq.*

and his sons, Trentham et Novum Castrum were entered as paying £30, with a reference to the first year of Henry II, i.e. to the roll of 1154-55.<sup>9</sup> It is not strictly correct, because that roll mentions Newcastle but not Trentham. Still, it is fairly obvious that the compiler is informing us that the Trentham of subsequent Pipe Rolls and the New Castle of 1154-55 were all one. The explanation is given much more fully and correctly in a Latin note of similar date appended to an abstract of the Pipe Roll of 1155-56. In the margin opposite the Trentham farm of this year, a thirteenth-century commentator, probably Alexander de Swerford, has written the note which may be translated thus: "Here is contained in Worcestershire in the year before [the farm] which is called there New Castle. But they are the same, for New Castle is a member [of Trentham], but on account of the eminence of its castle and market received the prerogative of the name."<sup>10</sup> So, in the thirteenth century, the castle connected with Trentham was at Newcastle, and there was no mention of a castle at Trentham itself.

Also, we notice that a new town was springing up rapidly in the latter half of the twelfth century. Soon the king was taking toll from the people who had settled near the New Castle, partly for the protection and security thereby gained, and partly for trade with the occupants of the castle. Encouragement would no doubt be given by the officers of the royal demesne to all such settlers, for from them revenue could be made to flow into the royal treasury. The "Novum Oppidum sub Lima cum soca" is first mentioned when it was amerced seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.) for transgressions of forest laws or trespasses on the king's forests in 1166-67.<sup>11</sup> Alan de Neville, a Justice of the Forest, visited Staffordshire in the autumn of 1166, and the result of his visit is best studied by reference to the Pipe Roll of 1166-67, where seventy-one fines are recorded. Among them Bernard of Newcastle, who was perhaps the bailiff, was fined forty shillings on account of his mares which he had in the forest. He paid six shillings in 1168, eighteen shillings in 1169, and the balance of sixteen shillings in the next year. As the Newcastle people paid fifty shillings of their fine in 1168 and the remaining sum of forty-three shillings and fourpence in the following year, they were evidently quite a thriving community. Another way of adding to the royal revenue is exemplified on the 1168 Pipe Roll. The

<sup>9</sup> *Red Book of Exchequer*, Vol. II, p. 784.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 662.

Staffordshire baronies and spiritual fiefs were assessed for an aid on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, Matilda, with the Duke of Saxony. The general rate of assessment was two marks on each knight's fee of a given barony. In the following year the aid was assessed on boroughs, estates of royal demesne, and on the king's escheats. Contributions were levied on Stafford, King's Bromley, Alrewas, Wiggington, Walsall, Tettenhall, Rowley, Meir, Penkull, Cannock, Wolverhampton, Clent, King's Swinford, the Staffordshire part of Tamworth, and Newcastle. The "*homines de Novo Castello*" paid their contribution of £4 6s. 8d., a sum exceeded only by Stafford, Wiggington, and Penkull. It must also be remembered that in this same year Newcastle-under-Lyme with its soke paid off the balance of its forest amercement, making £6 10s. in all, another striking testimony to the prosperity of the new town.

By royal writ in 1171 expensive improvements were made at the vivary or big pool "*de Novo Oppido*," the large amount of £31 7s. 11d. being credited to the sheriff from the farm of the county, and £5 12s. 1d. from the Trentham farm. Next year the farm of Trentham was supplemented by an increase of ten shillings, which represented the enhanced value of this royal estate, because on it the sheriff had opened a new market. So profitable was the market that next year the increased rent on account of it was doubled for that year only, and thereafter the rent was to be forty shillings.

During the year there had been a rebellion in which the earl of Leicester joined. On 22 July, 1173, the earl of Cornwall and Richard de Lucy, having summoned the army of England to the siege of Leicester, took that town and reduced it to ashes. In connection with these events, and from the Staffordshire farm, the sheriff paid for twenty-four carpenters and a master carpenter for eighteen days in the army at Leicester; also, he spent £33 5s. for the services of five knights and twenty serjeants for nineteen weeks, in addition to an extra garrison kept at Newcastle at an outlay of £13 6s. 8d. For the regular garrison of ten serjeants the usual cost of £9 2s. 6d. was allowed against the Trentham farm.

There was trouble again in 1174. Prince Res (Rhys) of South Wales, as the king's ally, was besieging earl Ferrers' castle of Tutbury, so a very strong garrison was kept at Newcastle, viz. five knights, six mounted serjeants, and ten serjeants on foot, for 134 days, at a cost of £47 9s. 2d. At the same time, two houses were constructed at the castle for which the sheriff was

allowed two marks. The last part of the 1173 Pipe Roll is taken up with a tax assessed by John de Dover and his fellow commissioners on the royal demesnes and escheats. The list of towns is almost the same as in 1169, when an aid was assessed on the royal estates on account of the marriage of the king's daughter. But there was one important change in regard to Newcastle: £23 6s. 8d. was the amount assessed on the *borough* of Newcastle and forty shillings on the *soke* of Newcastle. The latter referred to the townships whose revenues and services contributed to the maintenance of the castle, and we shall have something to say later about the "soke." Only four places out of sixteen were assessed at a higher rate than £4 13s. 4d. They were Wiggington, £22; King's Bromley, £12; the borough of Stafford, £10; and the borough of Newcastle, £23 6s. 8d. The first and last assessments were abnormal, but that of Newcastle can be reasonably accounted for by noticing that the "new town" had become a borough. Perhaps payment was being made for the burghal privileges which had been granted between Michaelmas, 1172, and Michaelmas, 1173. From the first charter granted to Preston in 1179, of which the following is a translation in part: "Know ye that I have granted and . . . confirmed to my burgesses of Preston all the same liberties and free customs which I have given and granted to my burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme,"<sup>12</sup> we know that Newcastle must have been created a borough before the autumn of 1179, but we do not know why the burgesses of Preston elected to pay 100 marks for the same privileges as those enjoyed by the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Royal towns usually fared better than those under the dominion of an inferior lord. The latter was frequently close at hand to guard against any usurpation of his rights, but the king was generally far off, and he could not easily check increasing encroachments on his perquisites, encroachments which in course of time became customs and privileges by prescription. Also, the king was always in need of money, and he was quite ready to make a bargain with the traders of a town who could afford to pay more than other classes of his royal subjects. The burgesses of Newcastle did not pay their assessment in one lump sum. They paid £4 3s. 4d. in 1173, and by small instalments each year up to and including 1180 a further sum of £9 3s. 4d. was cleared off, leaving a debt of £10, which the sheriff in 1181 stated could not be paid by Ralph de London, owing to his poverty. He doubtless was

<sup>12</sup> Ballard, *British Borough Chart.*, 1042-1216, p. 27.

the provost or reeve of the borough of Newcastle. The debt still remained in 1184, when the sheriff explained that Ralph de London had died without an heir. In 1186 £8 were paid, and the king presented Ralph's widow with £2, so the debt of the borough was cleared off. In those days the idea of uniting a number of persons to form a town with a corporate existence quite distinct from the individuals who constituted it, was practically unknown in English law. In this case, although the burgesses of Newcastle had received the grant of liberties and free customs belonging to a borough, yet they had no idea of what we mean by a modern incorporated borough. The king had appointed Ralph de London as reeve of the borough, and he was responsible for collecting from the individual burgesses their small payments towards the borough debt. When he died without heir, the burgesses appear to have considered that the debt of £10 still remaining was no concern of theirs. It would be interesting to know how and by whom the sum of £8 was raised in 1186.<sup>13</sup> Ralph de London's widow might plead poverty, but not the individual burgesses who constituted the borough of Newcastle, for in 1187, when the sheriffs of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, and Staffordshire, after acting as justices in these counties as their circuit, proceeded to assess and levy a tallage on the royal demesnes and escheats in Staffordshire, the people of Newcastle paid £8 10s. towards their assessment of £15 4s. 8d. If the amount of the tallage can be considered a standard for estimating the relative importance of the twenty-six royal estates assessed in Staffordshire, then Newcastle leads the way, exceeding even the borough of Stafford, with its £13 assessment. Penkridge, with £5 3s. 8d., and Wiggington, with £5, ranked next, and of the others only Kinver and Alrewas were assessed at more than £4.

But what were the liberties and free customs which had been granted to the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme? Some authorities think that, when a free borough was created, nothing more was done than the conversion of villein services and merchet of the rural manor into free burgage tenure. On the other hand, Dr. Gross thinks that the grant of the "liber burgus" is the grant of a mass of undefined franchises, and quotes the answer of the mayor and burgesses of Macclesfield in a *quo warranto* proceeding of 1350, "That by the words 'that the town of Macclesfield be a free borough,' they claim that the said town is

<sup>13</sup> Ralph's widow was evidently responsible, but the burgesses may have helped her.

a free borough, and has all the liberties and customs which a free borough rightfully ought to have." Among this mass of privileges burgage tenure would certainly be one, and in an early foundation like Newcastle, doubtless the most prominent. So we are sure that the inhabitants of Newcastle-under-Lyme, who occupied strips of land with houses upon them, from 1173 held these "burgages" by a payment of rent, most likely without the reservation of any other service. The burgess did not do fealty to his lord, he had no troublesome services to perform, and he was usually not liable to feudal incidents. To each burgage was attached a holding in the arable fields of the borough, about two acres in all, for which no additional rent was paid. This land was acquitted by the payment for the burgage proper, and in the case of Newcastle this was a fixed rent of twelve pence per annum, which seems to indicate Norman influence. The shilling rent is found at Uttoxeter<sup>14</sup> and at Ranulf de Blundeville's boroughs of Leek<sup>15</sup> and Macclesfield.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that the burgage could be sold like a chattel (though this was often subject to some restrictions), and, unlike other land, was devisable by will (also with certain restrictions). When Ranulf de Blundeville, the last great earl of Chester, in the early thirteenth century created the borough of Leek, he stipulated that his burgesses there should be as free as the freest burgesses of any borough in Staffordshire, that each of the burgesses should have half an acre of land for his dwelling and one acre in the fields, and in the forest of Leek timber for their buildings and wood for their hearths, under the supervision of the earls' foresters, and common pasture for every kind of cattle in the pasture pertaining to the manor.

It is unfortunate that we have not similar details about the formation of the borough of Newcastle, but no doubt the burgesses there had the right of pasture on the common fields, and the right of getting wood from the "wood of New Castle," which is definitely mentioned in 1200, and which is implied when the men of Newcastle were fined for transgressions of the forest laws, as previously recorded. Most likely the number of burgesses in the first instance was 160, because in the Great Inquest of Service taken in 1212, and included in the collection of inquests called "Testa de Nevill," it is recorded that in the vill of Newcastle

<sup>14</sup> Ballard and Tait, *Brit. Borough Chart.*, 1216-1307, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> Ballard, *Brit. Borough Chart.*, 1042-1216, p. 50.

<sup>16</sup> Ballard and Tait, *Brit. Borough Chart.*, 1216-1307, p. 47.

were 160<sup>17</sup> burgages, and that each paid twelve pence per annum at four terms. There were 127 burgages at Uttoxeter, 179 at Stafford, and 180 at Tutbury.

Other privileges which the Newcastle burgesses might secure by their first royal charter would be the exemption of defendants from pleading in courts outside the borough, also freedom from trade dues within the town. Thus the king, who was creating a borough for his own purposes, would make the town a trading centre. Perhaps he instituted a weekly market and a yearly fair, but even then the burgesses had plenty of other dues to pay. They would pay a small fixed rent for their stalls in the market; they had to grind their corn in the king's mill by the Pool Dam, and pay for the grinding; and there were occasional special impositions—tallages—which the king always reserved the right of imposing on his demesne land and his boroughs. From an inquisition made concerning the value of the borough and the manor of Newcastle in the time of Henry III,<sup>18</sup> most likely in the year 1249, the yearly rent of the borough in burgages and other lands was 165 shillings; the rent of the common oven of the same town was worth £5; the pleas, with market toll and other profits, amounted to £12 15s.; and the mill of the borough was worth £16 per annum. Thus the total yearly revenue of the Crown from the town of Newcastle and its royal mill was £42.<sup>19</sup> This, of course, did not include extraordinary imposts such as tallages.

<sup>17</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 386 (xx<sup>viii</sup> = 160).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>19</sup> In the inquisition the total, without the mill, is given as £26 13s. 4d.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE CASTLE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

It is not necessary to quote in minute detail all the records about Newcastle-under-Lyme on the Pipe Rolls from 1189 to 1215<sup>1</sup> in order to prove that both the castle and the borough were becoming of increasing importance. The enormous expenses in the early part of the period show that the Chancellor, William de Longchamp, who had been given wide powers by King Richard, was determined to maintain himself against his opponents during the absence of his royal master. One means to this end would be the development of the royal castles, so that they might be more defensible and sufficiently commodious for the temporary extra garrisons. We notice in 1190-91 that in Staffordshire ten serjeants, presumably the permanent garrison at Newcastle, at a cost of £9 2s. 6d., were appointed to guard the country (*patria*) from wrong-doers. This is evidence that similar forces were retained in the king's service throughout England. Although the protection of the peace was doubtless one object, Longchamp raised extra military forces in his contest with John. In this connection the Staffordshire Pipe Rolls in the earlier years of Richard's reign bear witness to abnormal military expenses at the royal castles. In addition to the annual charge of £9 2s. 6d. for ten serjeants we find that the castles of Newcastle and Tamworth in 1190 jointly cost £25, and similarly those of Chartley and Newcastle in 1192 cost £20. In the years 1191 and 1193 only Newcastle was garrisoned for the king, when the costs were respectively £27 9s. and £55. Thereafter only in 1196 was there any great military expense incurred in Staffordshire. From the roll in this year we learn that the daily rate of pay for a knight (*miles*) was 1s., for a serjeant 6d., for a corporal (*magister pedes*) 4d., and for a foot-soldier 2d.

From the long list of payments made for repairs and extra costs at the New Castle we can form a very good idea of what the

<sup>1</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, which should be consulted for the dated references in this chapter.

castle was like. The big pool or vivary formed by the two dams received regular attention, so did the bridge from the bailey to the Lower Green, while the mill by the Pool Dam, first mentioned in 1192-93, was repaired ten years later. Plenty of wood was still required for the palisade<sup>2</sup> round the mound and the bailey, also for the houses within the bailey, and perhaps for the chapel and the bridge, though there no doubt was a considerable amount of stonework used in the construction of the bridge and its defences.

When the seven "bretasches" were constructed in 1190, we are not certain whether they were towers or galleries, but they were certainly made of wood, and were in defence of the walls. We are inclined to think that they were wooden galleries projecting from the top part of the curtain walls round the bailey. We know that the outer palisade was repaired far on into the thirteenth century, but we also know that there were solid stone walls, because a considerable part of them was uncovered in 1904 by corporation workmen when the new road to Silverdale was being made. Also, a stone tower was undoubtedly built on the castle mound before 1192, when for repairing it and the bridge a sum of £6 15s. 6d. was spent.

Such an important military centre as Newcastle, which guarded the direct route up the Trent valley from the north midlands and across the Cheshire plain, either to Chester and the coast of North Wales, or to the borderland south of Cheshire, needed strengthening by the use of material that would give some guarantee of permanence. The motte and bailey structure was retained, because it was easily defensible, especially when the pool encircled it. The weakness of the early castle lay in the inflammable nature of the stockade, therefore the substitution of masonry in many parts was a logical sequence. Was the prison within the castle made of stone? We do not know, but in 1195 prisoners were taken from Newcastle to Lichfield, and repairs were made to the gaol in 1199, and in four out of the five following years. How far William de Checkley was responsible for damages necessitating these repairs we do not know, but he could have enlightened us about the structure, because in 1203 king John pardoned him for escaping from Newcastle prison, and he annulled his outlawry incurred thereby.

In 1193 there is definite mention of stone for making the walks (*pro deambulatoriis*) round the castle, and for embattling

<sup>2</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 1.

the bridge. In king John's reign much money was spent on the castle for work and repairs, £37 in 1204, £53 6s. 9d. in 1205, £40 in 1207, and £10 in 1208 being the largest sums. We know that much of the material used when these expenses were sanctioned was timber. In 1205 we also learn that the sheriff of Staffordshire was allowed to take by royal writ timber of the neighbourhood out of the royal forest for repairing the "novum castrum sub Lima." Without knowing of these great sums expended at this time on the New Castle, the late Mr. Charles Lynam gave his opinion that the walls discovered about 90 yards from the castle mound in the direction of Bridge Street and the Lower Green were of early thirteenth-century date. When the workmen had dug down 9 feet from the surface they struck a wall which went off at right angles, and eventually they laid bare about 15 to 20 feet of wall with plinth courses 3 or 4 feet thick. The dressed stone of the wall, which was uncovered to a depth of 7 or 8 feet, was in a splendid state of preservation, no doubt because it had been buried for centuries. By further borings it was found that the walls extended 6 or 7 feet still lower. When the walls were traced in a northerly direction they were found to extend a further distance of 42 feet, and from the southern corner in a westerly direction for 16 feet. The discovery of some huge baulks of timber, mortised and secured with thick wooden pegs, pointed to the fact that near this part of the castle bailey there had been the main bridge across the pool side. The depth at which the masonry was found showed how comparatively quickly the bailey and its curtain walls had become buried by deposits from the unchecked flow of the Lyme brook, and the silting process would no doubt to a certain extent account for the lowly height of the castle mound. All round it earth many feet in depth has been deposited in the course of several centuries.

#### ROYAL VISITS.

Before we consider how the guard of the castle was maintained in early times, we might notice that king John himself was at Newcastle in the early part of March, 1206.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps as a result of his visit the large sum of £40 was spent on the castle in 1206-7.

This was not the first royal visit to Newcastle, for on Henry II's first expedition against North Wales in 1157, the

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Rot. Pat. (Rec. Com.)*, I, 59b.



CASTLE WALLS UNCOVERED IN 1904



king had gone through Newcastle and stayed at Chesterton. In those early days of its history the primitive motte and bailey castle would have no suitable accommodation for the king, so he stayed with his tenant, Waldeve de Walton, much to his benefit. Because his house was burned down, probably through the carelessness of some one in the royal retinue, the king gave to Waldeve by charter no less than thirty solidates of land in Chesterton, and the sheriff from 1158<sup>4</sup> onwards was ordered to deduct the value from the farm of Trentham. Forty-one years later the explanation of this transaction occurs on the Pipe Rolls.<sup>5</sup>

#### CASTLE GUARD.

Now let us see what Henry II did when he resumed possession of Newcastle at the beginning of his reign. All the lands round the castle were of ancient demesne or of ancient escheat, and had been in the king's own hands since the Conquest, and his tenants owed various services and rents for their lands. Some of the more important villis near the castle were now charged with the definite military duty of providing a guard for forty days in the year at the castle. This was the chief change made by the king; he seems to have left the rents as they had been of old.

The central idea of the changed tenure was the "servantship" or "serjeanty" of providing a guard at the king's New Castle. The rest of the tenure which was not military nor "serviential" was in free socage. The tenant was bound to pay certain dues in money and in kind for land of ancient right, and so he was a "sokeman" of the king. We may reasonably conclude that Henry II would soon complete his arrangements for guarding the New Castle-under-Lyme. At the same time, he would set up at the castle his manorial court, where all his tenants who owed suit or service would have to attend and pay their dues. We can infer from the Pipe Rolls that the tenants-in-chief who held their lands round Newcastle by the serjeanty of doing castle guard, provided at least ten serjeants, that their cost every year was £9 2s. 6d., and that their service was continuous, not due only in time of war. There was doubtless a rota of service: one serjeant performed castle guard for forty days and then was relieved by the next in succession. At 6d. a day—the serjeant's usual pay—each serjeant cost the king's exchequer £1. Therefore, as the year consists of 365 days, we find that the sum of

<sup>4</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 81.

£9 2s. 6d., made up of the pay of each of nine serjeants plus five days' pay for the service of a tenth serjeant, was credited every year to the sheriff against the farm.

Not until the year 1212 have we any record of the lands upon which the military service was incident. Even then the great inquest of service included in the register known as the "Testa de Nevill" does not specify the military service. King John had commanded his sheriff of the county of Stafford to enquire of all military fees and all kinds of tenements within or without the boroughs which were held in chief by military service or by any serjeanty, and in the returns no military services are mentioned, only the tenants and their fixed rents. From the particulars given<sup>6</sup> we see that the rents and the lands held "of antient right" by six sokemen as tenants-in-chief, who had to render account of their services at the New Castle, were: (a) 36 virgates at a rent of £4 11s. 6d. in Knutton, Dimsdale, Hanchurch, Clayton, Hanford, and Whitmore; (b) 3 virgates at 6s. in Hanley; (c) 6½ virgates at 5s. in Longton; (d) 3 virgates at 7s. in Fenton; (e) 4 virgates at 11s. in Bradwell and Thursfield; (f) 12 virgates at 15s. 4d. in Tunstall, Chatterley, and Normacot. The 160 burgage holders in Newcastle borough paid 12d. each per annum, and the Knights of the Temple who held Keele paid nothing. William Griffin held the Hundred of Pirehill at a rent of six marks (£4) yearly, and by an unspecified serjeanty. The demesne manor of Trentham was held in free alms by the Prior of Trentham. At first sight the rent paid by Ralph de Knutton seems out of proportion to the rest, but it really is not so. The unit of assessment would most likely be the virgate (= 30 acres). The lowest assessment was in Longton, where Randle de Beville paid a rent of 9d. per virgate, and the highest was Henry de Audley's rent of 2s. 9d. per virgate in Bradwell and Thursfield. Ralph de Knutton paid slightly more than 2s. 6d. for each virgate held by him. Before any further account of the sokemen of Newcastle and of their serjeanties occurs in the records, king John on 1 August, 1215,<sup>7</sup> granted to Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, his *manor* of Newcastle-under-Lyme with the same castle and all appurtenances to the said manor, to be held by the service of one knight's fee. If it should happen that the earl died without lawful issue, then the manor would revert to the king. Six weeks earlier the king had signed the Great Charter, the terms of

<sup>6</sup> S.H.C., 1911, p. 379.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Chart., Vol. I, Pars. I, p. 216.

which he had no intention of keeping. He proceeded to get papal absolution from his oath, and prepared to take the field against the barons who had forced him to sign the charter at Runnymede. The grant of Newcastle to the earl of Chester seems to have been part of the royal preparation for the successful campaign which the king, with the help of mercenaries from Flanders, began to wage against the rebellious barons in the autumn. In the earl of Chester's charter we have the first official mention of the "manor" (*manerium*) of Newcastle-under-Lyme. The medieval conception of a manor, like our common use of the modern term "estate" is difficult to define. This particular manor implies (1) that lands in different vills and held by various tenures are under one lord, who holds in demesne the castle and certain lands near by; (2) that all the tenants have varied duties to perform in connection with their land, an account of which must be rendered at the manor court. There the steward will enter on the court rolls particulars of rent, service, suit,<sup>8</sup> fines, and so on. Later we shall see how the manor of the New Castle was administered, but at present let us consider the military services due for castle guard. Our next account of the "sokemen" occurs in 1236,<sup>9</sup> when the sheriff was required to prepare a triple return showing (1) all those who held only a single knight's fee or any fraction of one, and (2) all those who held (*a*) by serjeanty, or (*b*) by socage, with full particulars. The king was not satisfied with the amount of money he had received from the "aid" of two marks from every knight's fee granted to him in 1235 on the marriage of his sister Isabel. Just about this time many changes were taking place in the manor and the borough of Newcastle. Upon the death of Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, in 1232, the king had resumed possession of the manor of Newcastle. In 1235 the burgesses of Newcastle were granted perhaps their most important charter, and the next year we get the sheriff's return about the Newcastle serjeanties, which the king's officers no doubt closely scrutinised to see if they could make any of his sokemen aid the wedding gift. Let us tabulate the return:—

<sup>8</sup> I.e. compulsory attendance at the lord's court.

<sup>9</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 390-2.

TENANT.	LAND.	RENT.	SERJEANTY.
1. J o h n d e Knutton	Vill of Knutton	£4 11s. 6d. p.a. at fee-farm paid at the castle	Guard at castle for 40 days at king's cost
2. William de Erdinton	Vill of Fenton	7s. 4d. p.a. at fee-farm, etc.	Guard at castle, etc.
3. William de Hanley	Vill of Hanley	6s. p.a. at fee-farm, etc.	Guard at castle, etc.
4. R a n u l f d e Beville	Vill of Longton	5s. p.a. at fee-farm, etc.	Guard at castle, etc.
5. William Muriel	One virgate in Shelton	—	Guarding King's hay of Clive in Shelton
6. H e n r y d e Audley	Vills of Tunstall, Chatterley, Bradwell, Thursfield, and Normacot	—	Guard at castle of one foot-soldier with bow and arrows for 8 days in time of war at own cost
7. Geoffrey Grif-in	Hundred of Pirehill	6½ marks p.a.	Guarding the Hundred

The rents of Knutton, Hanley, and Longton are unaltered from 1212, and as the villas are stated to be held at fee-farm (the *fee* or inheritance was *farmed* perpetually at the rents named) the payments will remain unalterable. The rents of Fenton and Pirehill Hundred have been increased, and a serjeanty at Shelton is mentioned, which was omitted in 1212 because no rent in money was due. William Muriel for guarding the hay of Cliffe (an enclosure from the king's forest for hunting purposes), held 30 acres in Shelton free of rent. But the most important changes were connected with the villas of Bradwell, Thursfield, Tunstall, Chatterley, and Normacot. In 1212 a total rent of 26s. 4d. was due from these places, which were held by Henry de Audley and Henry de Verdun. Now Henry de Audley had acquired all the villas, he paid no rent, and the serjeanty of castle guard was obviously not the original service. From a return of alienations in 1251 we learn that Normacot used to be held in chief of the king at a rent of 5s. and the service of one man for forty days at the New Castle, but when the vill was sold to Henry de Audley he abolished the service and gave the vill in free alms to the

abbot of Hulton. Perhaps in 1282, when the earl of Lancaster, as lord of the manor and soke of Newcastle, claimed castle-guard service at Newcastle for the tenure of Tunstall and Chesterton, he was right. During the time that the earl of Chester was holding the manor of Newcastle, he parted with the rents of Tunstall, Chatterley, Chell, Thursfield, Bradwell, and Normacot to Henry de Audley, and these were among the many lands which the king on coming of age confirmed to him by a charter in 1227.<sup>10</sup>

We know that the new owner altered entirely his tenure of Normacot, so it is reasonable to suppose that he treated in a similar manner the vills of Tunstall, Chatterley, Bradwell, and Thursfield.

When an enquiry was made at Stafford<sup>11</sup> in 1254 about the deceased Bertram Griffin's lands, rents, and services, he was said to have held the Hundred of Pirehill *in capite* by rendering 6½ marks and homage. Also, he held the manor of Clayton of the king *in capite* by serjeanty, viz. performing the service of one serjeant in the Castle-under-Lyme for forty days at the king's cost with horse and arms. From another enquiry in 1255<sup>12</sup> we learn that the tenure of Knutton is a rent of £4 11s. 6d., suit at the court of Newcastle every three weeks, and castleward with lance, doublet, and breastplate of iron for forty days at Newcastle at the king's cost in time of war. From the records quoted we can be sure that one serjeant for castle guard at Newcastle was part of the tenure from each of the vills of Knutton, Hanley, Longton, Fenton, Clayton, and Normacot, and in all probability by the year 1236 Henry de Audley had practically freed all his lands in Tunstall, Chatterley, Bradwell, and Thursfield, which most likely were charged with providing the other four serjeants originally. In later times, when the lands were divided up by gift and sale, the number of suitors was not thereby increased. When in 1247<sup>13</sup> it was stated that William de Beville had alienated by renting out lands to Gilbert de la Mere, William de Hales, Henry de Addeley, Adam de Lavenden, etc., he himself performed the service of castle guard for the part of the land which he held and which had not been alienated. For sixty years, down to 1215, the castle, under royal control, increased in strength and importance, but with no radical changes of management, rents, and services. These were reserved for the period when the earl of

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 122-4.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 405-6.

Chester farmed at one knight's fee the manor of Newcastle, including the castle and soke. He certainly did not exact the full military services due at the castle when he parted with the rents and services of Bradwell, Thursfield, Tunstall, Chatterley, and Normacot to Henry de Audley. Again, when we come to consider the history of the borough chapel, we shall see that the earl made good his claim to the advowson of Stoke as appendant to the manor of Newcastle. On his death in October, 1232, he left a rent charge of 60s. per annum, payable from the reeveship of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, to the abbot and monks of St. Werburgh at Chester, to celebrate divine service for his soul. His body was buried at Chester, but his heart, as he had directed, lies buried before the high altar of Dieulacresse Abbey, near Leek, still undisturbed, though carts from the neighbouring farm daily rumble over the desecrated ground.

#### CHAPTER IV.

### THE CASTLE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*Contd.*).

A FEW weeks after the death of the earl of Chester the king gave instructions that the castle and manor under Lyme with all appurtenances should be handed over to the custody of Gilbert de Segrave, who was to support himself from the rents there in the royal service until the king might make provision for him elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert de Segrave, the second son of the king's unpopular minister, Stephen de Segrave, on 27 December, 1232<sup>2</sup> received by royal grant the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with the castle, fish-pond, stank and wood, and all tenements in the "foreign" towns (i.e. Hanley, Longton, Fenton, Knutton, etc.) belonging to the said manor, with the advowsons of the church of Stoke and all religious foundations (*elemosinarum*), the services of free men and villeins, and all other appurtenances, to hold at fee-farm rendering yearly at the exchequer £20, and to the abbot of Chester 60s., granted to him by the king to support a chaplain celebrating divine service daily for the soul of Ranulf, late earl of Chester and Lincoln. Gilbert de Segrave held Newcastle for rather more than eighteen months, and as in 1237<sup>3</sup> he was excused by the king from paying the £20 (for which he was being dunned by the exchequer officials) from the farm of Newcastle-under-Lyme for the time in which the castle was in his hands, he seems to have maintained himself quite well in the king's service as commanded. When the king, in 1234, wanted to make other arrangements about his manor and castle, he did not send direct to the constable, but he told Gilbert's father, Stephen de Segrave, to see that Newcastle was surrendered, because it was necessary

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1231-34, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, Vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1234-47, p. 468.

for the " March " between England and Wales and the land of Chester.<sup>4</sup>

Then the king appointed Adam Esturmy constable of Newcastle,<sup>5</sup> and gave him a cask of wine.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently, when Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, was lord of the manor of Newcastle, he had enclosed within the park of the castle a certain part of a wood in Rushton Grange, which the abbot of Hulton claimed to be his by gift from Henry de Audley. Afterwards, in 1235, the king ordered the park to be disparked, and commanded Adam Esturmy as constable of Newcastle to restore to the abbot of Hulton the part of the wood he claimed.<sup>7</sup> Three years later the king made another change at Newcastle. He ordered his constable, Adam Esturmy, to deliver up Newcastle-under-Lyme to Simon de Norwich,<sup>8</sup> whom the king sent to enquire about all the issues, rents, and profits of the manor. The interim constable was quick about his work, for on the eleventh day after he had received the manor of Newcastle he was ordered to deliver it up to Henry de Audley,<sup>9</sup> but the king reserved for himself the crops and stocks there, and the farm of the town for the Michaelmas term. It was then 26 September, 1238, so within a few days the king would receive a welcome addition to his exchequer. The rents, issues, and profits of the soke and borough were increasing, much to the advantage of the king, for the rent which Henry de Audley, the custodian (*custos*) of the manor and castle agreed to pay to the king's exchequer was £68 18s. 2½d.<sup>10</sup> For this he was to have all the issues of the manor and castellany, estover in the wood there, and other reasonable profits of the said wood without sale and service, and the customs which the good men of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme used to pay when they were in the king's hands; and he was to treat the good men by the same laws and customs as they used to be treated at that time, and they were to hold their lands and assarts as they used to do, and they were to be intendant and helping unto him. Why was the rent which Henry de Audley agreed to pay to the royal exchequer not given in round figures? Why was the king so particular about the last 2½d.? It seems reasonable to suggest that Simon de Norwich had supplied the full and exact details of all the rents due from the manor and borough, and the king had told his new

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1231-34, p. 567.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1231-34, p. 479.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1234-47, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

constable that that sum would be his annual rent. If the constable could increase the rents—and there were many ways of doing this—he would be able to pocket the difference. All repairs were still to be paid from the king's exchequer. In the year after he was appointed, Henry de Audley was empowered to spend £10 in the repair of the quay of the king's vivary at Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>11</sup> Also, in 1241, he was ordered to let Simon de Norwich have ten oaks from the wood of Newcastle by the gift of the king.<sup>12</sup> It was no mere excuse on the part of the king for recovering possession of Newcastle, when he informed Stephen de Segrave that the castle was necessary to him for the border country between England and Wales. In August of 1241<sup>13</sup> the constable of Nottingham Castle was ordered to bring personally the king's treasure which was deposited in his care to Chester, and to let the king know on what day he would come to Newcastle-under-Lyme, so that serjeants might be sent as an escort. The king was in camp at Rhuddlan on 27 and 28 August, and on 2 September he was at Chester on his way back from a successful expedition against David ap Llewelyn.<sup>14</sup> On 6 September he was at Newcastle, and perhaps in consequence two days later Henry de Audley was empowered to repair the king's houses at Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>15</sup> Among the charters which provided queen Eleanor with an annuity for life in case of the king's death, one, granted at Bordeaux, 17 August, 1243,<sup>16</sup> assigned as dowry the rents and issues from the whole county of Chester with the New Castle under Lyme, and the advowson of Rocester Abbey. In 1246, on the death of Henry de Audley, founder of Hulton Abbey and builder of the castles of Heleigh and Redcastle, Hugh de Frodsham, king's serjeant, was appointed constable of the castle.<sup>17</sup> A few years later a local jury was summoned to make enquiry of the full value of the New Castle and manor. No details of Simon de Norwich's enquiry in 1238 have come down to us, and we can only surmise that the value of the rents of the manor and soke of Newcastle was about £69, judging by the rent which Henry de Audley paid to the king's exchequer. But of the enquiry made in 1249<sup>18</sup> we have very full particulars of the rents and services—first of all of the borough (which we will consider later) and then of the lands

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1237-42, p. 381.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 256.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 394.

<sup>16</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 493.

<sup>18</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 145 (see Appendix B for full account).

comprising the manor of the castle. We see that the demesne lands in Penkhull, Wolstanton, and the king's meadows were rented out, that besides the mill in connection with the castle pool, there were mills at Shelton and Seabridge; that the ancient rents of Knutton, Fenton, Hanley, and Longton were unaltered from 1212, but that Tunstall, Thursfield, Bradwell, Chatterley, and Normacot were now entirely severed from the manor of Newcastle. Henry de Audley had established a separate central court at Tunstall for these vills. The profits of the court held every three weeks at the castle were estimated at £6, and the two views of frankpledge were worth 25s. 3½d. The rents, etc., from the borough of Newcastle amounted to £26 13s. 4d.; the annual rent of the mill was £16, and the sum of the rents from the manor lands was £31 19s. 0½d.: total £74 12s. 4½d. So the king would want more than £69 the next time he farmed out the manor and borough.

The persons who were subject to the law of frankpledge were distributed into groups, each consisting of ten, or in some cases of twelve or more, persons.<sup>19</sup> Each "tithing" was presided over by one of the associated persons, who was known as the chief-pledge or headborough. The township discharged its duty by seeing that all who were resident within its boundaries were in these groups. Twice a year at the manor court of Newcastle a view of frankpledge was taken. The sheriff may have been present, but most likely he was excluded, and the king took the profits which arose from the exercise of this jurisdiction. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the word *leet* was becoming a common name for such a court, but to the last *visus franciplegii* (view of frankpledge) remained the most formal and correct of titles.<sup>20</sup> The way in which the law of frankpledge operated is well illustrated by a local murder case, reported at Lichfield in 1227.<sup>21</sup> John de Knutton and Ralph his brother killed Henry, son of Richard de Haya, and fled; and they were in the frankpledge of Matthew, son of Thomas de Dimsdale. Therefore he was *in misericordia*, i.e. at the king's mercy, and they were outlawed at the suit of Richard de Haya, the father. No presentment of Englishry (i.e. to prove that the murdered man was an Englishman, and the *murdrum* fine accordingly not payable by the hundred) was made, because Henry lived for some time after. Their chattels, forfeited to the king, were worth 24s. 4d., for which

<sup>19</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, I, pp. 569, 580.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 580.

<sup>21</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. IV, pp. 71-2.

the vill of Knutton was answerable. Perhaps it was this crime which induced Ranulf de Knutton for the safety of his soul to give to the church of Trentham one toft and croft in Whitmore, near the cemetery.<sup>22</sup> As was only to be expected when the king farmed out the town and castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1250 to James, son of Henry de Audley, who had been constable of the castle from September, 1238, till his death in 1246, the new constable was to pay £80 per annum at the exchequer, and the king reserved the profits arising from wards, reliefs, escheats of felony, and advowsons of churches.<sup>23</sup> As usual, on a new appointment, repairs were carried out at the castle. Hugh de Frodsham was allowed £15 zs. 3d., which he had expended by the king's precept in repairing the palisades round about the castle, the bridge, the moat, and the mills.<sup>24</sup> That was in May, 1251, and in the autumn of the same year James de Audley, as the constable, was to spend £20 for necessary repairs at the castle, by the view of the sheriff of Staffordshire and other good men of the same county.<sup>24</sup>

In the same year the burgesses of Newcastle obtained a charter from the king allowing them to collect their own fee-farm rent,<sup>25</sup> which later we are told was fixed (though it is not so specified in the actual charter) at forty marks, the exact sum at which the rents of the borough were estimated in 1249. This charter would prevent the constable from attempting to increase the rents due from the burgesses, so he would have to make what profit he could from the tenants of the manor. James de Audley, in 1253, was authorised to cause the palisades surrounding the castle to be repaired where necessary,<sup>26</sup> also to repair the castle pool, which was broken down on account of the sale of the fish in the king's fish-ponds.

Four years later the king himself came through Newcastle on his way from Lichfield to Chester and North Wales. From Windsor in June the sheriff of Salop and Stafford was ordered to send to Newcastle-under-Lyme 100 quarters of corn and 100 quarters of oats for the supply of the king's army going into Wales.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, other sheriffs and bailiffs were commanded to send corn and other victuals. From Woodstock,<sup>28</sup> in July, Ralph de Hotot, the king's clerk, was empowered to receive and keep the purveyances of oxen, corn, fish, and other kinds of

<sup>22</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 332.

<sup>24</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>26</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>28</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 569.

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, p. 367.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

victuals then being sent to Newcastle-under-Lyme, Frodsham, and Chester. From the Patent Rolls <sup>29</sup> we can follow the itinerary of the king: he was at Lichfield on 28 July to 1 August, passed through Stoke to Newcastle on 3 August, where he stayed three days, and then went on to Chester on the 6th. Thence he proceeded to Conway and concluded an inglorious treaty with Llewelyn. The civil war between the king and the barons, which had been threatening ever since the latter had been able in 1258 to put the powers of the Crown in commission, broke out in 1264. As a result of the battle of Lewes, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, the leader of the baronial party, practically governed England from May, 1264, to August, 1265. All these national disturbances reacted on the fortunes of the castle and borough of Newcastle. After the feast of All Saints, 1264, the king and his eldest son Edward granted among other lands to Simon de Montfort Newcastle-under-Lyme, and this was confirmed on definite terms by a charter <sup>30</sup> dated from Westminster, 20 March, 1265.

To Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, steward of England, was granted the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with the town and appurtenances, to be held as the king had held it, and by the service of one knight's fee. In August of the same year Montfort was slain at the battle of Evesham by Prince Edward's royal forces. By the king's grant of Newcastle-under-Lyme <sup>31</sup> in 1267 to his younger son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, there began the long connection between Newcastle and the Duchy of Lancaster, which has lasted down to the present day. The grant did not specify what were the appurtenances of the manor, but the earl was allowed to include the advowsons of the churches which the king had specially reserved in 1250.

Not content with those of Stoke and Wolstanton, Edmund was in 1268 unsuccessfully claiming the advowson of the priory church of Trentham. <sup>32</sup>

During the last quarter of the century, when Edward I was king, we learn very little about the castle itself, except that in 1279 William, son and heir of James de Audley, was excused payment of £45 which his father owed from the time when he farmed the castle and manor. It was proved on enquiry by the barons of the exchequer that £5 damage was done by floods breaking the pool, so that the mills did not grind for more than

<sup>29</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, pp. 572-3.

<sup>30</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, Vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, p. 186.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

a quarter of a year, that James de Audley spent £20 in repairing the pool, and also, at the time of the civil disturbances in the realm, he could not hold any court in the manor for two years, and thereby received nothing of pleas and perquisites of that court for that time, to the damage of £20.<sup>33</sup>

In 1293 the Liberty of Newcastle-under-Lyme presented that Ralph de Beville held the manor of Longton *in capite* of the king (Edmund of Lancaster really held the manor) by serjeanty of finding a horseman with an iron cap, gambyson, and lance for the custody of Newcastle for forty days in time of war at his own cost, and for the service of escorting the king in time of war when the king went into Wales from Newcastle as far as Wrinesford (Wrinehill on the Cheshire boundary), and on returning from Wrinesford to Newcastle.<sup>34</sup> The last part of the service beginning at "in time of war" seems to be a late addition made perhaps by Henry III.

Because the charters of Henry III only mentioned in general terms the services due from Edmund for the various castles and manors granted to him, king Edward I, on 6 February, 1292, confirmed to his brother Newcastle-under-Lyme, with all its appurtenances, by the definite service of a quarter of a knight's fee.<sup>35</sup>

In spite of this, Edmund next year was summoned to show his title to hold pleas of the Crown and other franchises in various manors, including Newcastle.<sup>36</sup> Edmund appeared by attorney and stated that he claimed in the manor of Newcastle view of frankpledge, free warren, infangenthef, gallows, and wayf, and to hold pleas of forbidden distress; and in the town of Newcastle he claimed nothing except the lordship of it and a farm of forty marks; and he called to warranty the Chancellor's rolls of 50, 51 Henry III; and as regarded the franchises claimed in Newcastle, he stated that the same king had given to him and to the heirs of his body the castle and manor of Newcastle, which was of the ancient demesne of the Crown, with all liberties and customs which the said king held in the same.

Edmund died in 1296, and after his death an inquisition post-mortem was held by twelve local jurors concerning the late earl of Lancaster's revenues from the "soke" or "foreign" of Newcastle.<sup>37</sup> It is most illuminating to compare the 1249

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls, 1272-79*, p. 544.

<sup>34</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, p. 266.

<sup>35</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 477.

<sup>36</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 216-17.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 242-6.

inquisition concerning the manor of Newcastle with this enquiry. In less than fifty years the total rents from the lands of the manor and sokè had nearly doubled. They were within a shilling of £32 in 1249, and they totalled £58 5s. 2d. in 1297. In the latter year there was no enquiry about the farm of the borough, but we see that the advowsons of the mother church of Stoke and its dependent chapels at Newcastle, Whitmore, Norton-in-the-Moors, Burslem, etc., were valued at £100 per annum, and those of Wolstanton and its chapel at £40. The earl of Lancaster had evidently been improving the rents and services due from his manorial tenants in the soke of Newcastle. He could not alter the fixed rents "of antient right" of Knutton (£4 11s. 6d.), of Longton (5s.), of Fenton (7s.)—there was added before 1236 4d. for an acre at Boothen—of Hanley (6s.), and of 12d. from the burgesses of Stafford for some ancient service connected with Penkhull; but in the case of Penkhull, just to take one instance, where the total rents in 1249 were rather more than £4, at the earl's death they were only 10d. short of £14. The rents of all the lands there had been doubled or even trebled, extra lands within the vill were improved so that rents could be extracted, and the day-works due from the tenants on the lord's demesne were specified in some cases. We see that eight customary tenants in Penkhull, along with four customary tenants in Wolstanton, ought to mow the lord's meadow, make his hay, and do other manual work, and the value to the lord of each man's day-works was 6d. Wolstanton marsh then was called the Goose green, and when the waste land in Wolstanton was improved the lord claimed the rents. According to the brief description of the castle and its precincts, the castle itself was not finished, and the large fishpond surrounding the "chief messuage" was worth 10s. per annum. Although this enquiry did not deal with the rents of the borough, yet because the people of Newcastle rented 38½ acres of land called the Stubbs, in the parish of Stoke, and in the vill of Penkhull, their rent of 6d. per acre was duly recorded under Penkhull. Similarly, the 127 acres of land improved from the waste in the vill of Wolstanton were rented partly by the men of Wolstanton and partly by the men of the borough of Newcastle. So far we have made only brief references to the borough, but now we must consider its early history more particularly.

## CHAPTER V.

### NEWCASTLE CHAPEL AND THE OLD PARISHES.

UP to this point we have been dealing with the origin of the castle and the early development of its military and manorial history. Also, we have seen that from the manor in 1172-73 the king had separated by royal charter those of his tenants who dwelt near the castle: he had given to the 160 householders whose burgage tenements comprised the "liber burgus" special privileges marking them off from his soke tenants in Knutton, Hanley, Longton, Penkhill, and elsewhere. But we have not yet decided in which ancient parish, Wolstanton, Trentham, or Stoke, the New Castle was originally situated.

Erdeswicke, about 1593, first suggested that Newcastle was founded in Wolstanton territory. He conjectured that the town of Newcastle had been built and had its liberties since it came to the earl and duke of Lancaster, and that before it was reputed but as a member of Wolstanton.<sup>1</sup> That was mere conjecture, and as we have previously shown, he was wrong in thinking that the town of Newcastle was not founded until late on in Henry III's reign. When in 1881 the Rev. Robert W. Eyton published his *Staffordshire Domesday Survey*, he stated that Newcastle-under-Lyme was founded either in the king's manor of Trentham or, as Erdeswicke suggested, in the king's escheated manor of Wolstanton.<sup>2</sup> Later, without advancing any proof, he states definitely that Newcastle was founded in Wolstanton manor by some king—Henry II he thought. When the same historian edited for the William Salt Archæological Society the Staffordshire Pipe Rolls, he again declared that the New Castle had been founded in Wolstanton, but he thus modified his opinion about the founder: "I do not intend to prejudge the question whether New Castle was founded by a king before Wolstanton was given to an earl, or founded by an earl while possessed of Wolstanton."<sup>3</sup> As we

<sup>1</sup> Erdeswicke, *Staffordshire*, 1844, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Eyton, *Staffordshire Domesday*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 177.

have already shown, Ranulf Gernons, earl of Chester, constructed the New Castle on Crown land before 1149, most likely within the period 1143-46, and in 1154 Henry II, ignoring a concession of the previous year, resumed possession of the castle. Also, we have seen that the farm of Trentham was sometimes referred to as the farm of Newcastle, because the latter town was a member of Trentham and was very important on account of its castle and market.

In all that Erdeswicke and Eyton wrote there was no evidence whatever for the Wolstanton claim. Certainly some of the soke tenants of the New Castle held their lands in Wolstanton parish ; but others held theirs in the parishes of Stoke and Trentham, so that it was in one of these three parishes that the New Castle was built. But in which ?

Before the vill of Newcastle was granted a royal charter whereby it became a free borough, there is a record of the Priory at Trentham which ought to settle the question. In 1162 to John, the prior of the church of the Blessed Virgin and All Saints and to the Augustinian monks in Trentham, Pope Alexander [III] confirmed the priory endowments, including among its members Barlaston, Betley, half Balterley, and " a certain small township of Newcastle which is of the territory of the parish of Trentham " (*quidam viculus Novi Castelli qui est de territorio parochie de Trentham*).<sup>4</sup> That definite statement at such an early period of Newcastle's history ought to be conclusive. In 1162 the people in the vicinity of the castle were no doubt increasing, so that when the king carved out a borough from Trentham manor and parish sometime between Michaelmas, 1172, and Michaelmas, 1173, there were 160 burgage tenements acquitted by the fixed shilling rent. The records already quoted, which give particulars of the serjeanties of castle guard in this district, practically prove that the ten serjeants who, according to the Pipe Rolls, were acquitted from the farm of Trentham, performed their service at the New Castle. Also, it is practically certain that the new market, which the Sheriff caused to be made in 1172, whereby 10s. increased rent was accounted for from the issues of the manor of Trentham, was at Newcastle. Consider the rapid development of the market. At Michaelmas, 1173, the sheriff accounted for 20s. increased rent for the new market for that year only : in future the rent was to be 40s., and later we find it was increased to 60s.

<sup>4</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 303, 304.

It is no mere coincidence that in the same year in which the rent of the new market was doubled the vill of Newcastle was changed into a borough.

Besides the 1162 confirmatory papal grant to Trentham Priory, we have in another deed about fifteen years later equally convincing evidence that Newcastle was founded in the parish and manor of Trentham. According to an agreement made during the period 1175-82 a long standing dispute was settled between the prior of Trentham and Robert de Costentin relative to the chapels of Newcastle and Whitmore.<sup>5</sup> Robert, having made Vivian of Stoke his proctor and bound himself to accept any terms to which Vivian might agree, entered his complaint against the prior and canons of Trentham in the court of the archbishop of Canterbury. The suit ended in a compromise solemnly agreed to in full synod in the presence of Richard Peche, bishop of Coventry, on the following conditions :—

The prior and canons cede to Vivian the chapelry of Whitmore for his life, for the annual payment of one talent of gold, or two shillings; the mother church retaining the right of burial, the gift of bread with the oblations, Peter's pence, and the other episcopal dues. The first wills of the deceased, and all other revenues, together with the chapel, are to be retained by Vivian. On the other side, Vivian, on behalf of Costentin and himself, relinquishes all claim to the chapel of Newcastle; and in case of the renewal of the suit by Costentin, and of the inability of Vivian to secure these chapels to the priory against his claims, Vivian undertakes to restore the chapel at Whitmore to the canons, and to pay a fine of ten marks, and to side with the priory against Costentin. Vivian having been officially attached (*clericus effectus*) to the priory of Trentham in virtue of this concession, promises fealty to the mother church, and to deliver up the deed held by Costentin relative to the chapel of Whitmore and help the prior and canons with money and advice whenever he can be of use to them. The curate appointed to serve the chapel, and presented by Vivian to the prior and canons, is to give

<sup>5</sup> A copy of the deed from Madox's *Formulare* is given in Ward's *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*, p. liii. According to Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, ed. Hardy, I, 570, Ralph de Thamewood was Archdeacon of Stafford in 1175, and Alan, one of the witnesses to this deed, held the office between 1175 and 1182 (quoting Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 223). Also, according to Le Neve, p. 545, Richard Peche, Archdeacon of Coventry, and son of his predecessor, Robert Peche (bishop, 1121-26), was consecrated bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1161. He died 6 October, 1182. Ward misreads the document when he states (p. 451) that Robert de Costentin was confirmed in his right to the chapel of Newcastle.

securities to the mother church for his faithful adherence to the terms of this deed. The undersigned witness the deed and bind themselves in a sum of ten marks for the observance of it: Alan, Archdeacon, iii marks; Robert the Dean, ij marks; John of Colwich, ij marks; Robert of —, j mark; Henry of Norton, j mark.<sup>6</sup>

Robert de Costentin does not seem to have gained much by appointing Vivian of Stoke his proctor. Perhaps he had arranged with Vivian to get what he could for himself, and so he had secured the patronage of the chapel of Whitmore for his life. Then it was to go to the prior and canons of Trentham, who also obtained in full their claims to the chapel of Newcastle.

The wording of the agreement seems to imply that Robert de Costentin might have some right in Whitmore chapel but none in that of Newcastle. We know that between 1250 and 1257 the king claimed and gained the chapel of Whitmore, because in 1250 he reserved the advowsons of Wolstanton and Stoke when he farmed out to James de Audley the town and castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme,<sup>7</sup> and in 1257 he presented Henry, his chaplain, to the chapel of Whitmore<sup>8</sup> as appurtenant to the church of Stoke. The prior may never have recovered the chapel of Whitmore, even though in 1293<sup>9</sup> he successfully proved his rights to the manor and advowson of Trentham. The fact that the prior in Henry VIII's reign was receiving rents from Whitmore<sup>10</sup> does not prove possession of the advowson, which should have been specially mentioned.

A family of the name of Costentin was established in Cheshire before 1086, and we know from Farrer's *Honors and Knights' Fees* (Vol. II) that the name occurs elsewhere.

Without giving any details, Stebbing Shaw, in his *History of Staffordshire*, states that Robertus de Costentin held Thorpe Constantine in Staffordshire. How Robert came to claim any rights in the chapels of Whitmore and Newcastle we have not been able to discover.

With Vivian of Stoke the case is different. We know he was a hunting parson who lived to a good old age. He attested as second witness an undated charter whereby Alina, Lady of Darlaston, daughter and heiress of Robert Fitzorm, granted to her

<sup>6</sup> *Annals of Diocese of Lichfield*, 1861, pp. 47-9. For Latin transcript, see Appendix A.

<sup>7</sup> Chap. IV, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, June 15, 1257.

<sup>9</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 241, 243.

<sup>10</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 396-7.

uncle, Thomas Fitzorm, the manor of Over Biddulph and the tenement of Fenton Culvert. For some breach of the forest laws he was fined half a mark in 1167.<sup>11</sup> Thirty-three years later he paid a fine of one mark to have his hounds as he was accustomed to have them. In the same year king John granted to his clerk, Vivian of Stoke, the perpetual vicarage of Wolstanton, on condition that he paid annually to the parson of the said church six marks of silver as Stephen de Burgennoey (? Burgavenny = Abergavenny), now parson of the same church has granted to him.<sup>12</sup> When Vivian died in 1222, king Henry III, by his attorney, Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, who was then lord of the manor and castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme, sued the Prior of Kenilworth for half the advowson of Stoke. He claimed that his grandfather, Henry II, had presented Vivian with the advowson of Stoke and that now the right had descended to him. The prior pleaded that his church held half the advowson of Stoke as the gift of Walter de Caverswall, and he produced the said Walter's deed, also the confirmatory grant of Henry II, and he claimed that now king Henry III ought to confirm it to him. The earl of Chester stated that Walter de Caverswall was only the bailiff of Henry II and vicar of the patron, and never had any right to the advowson.<sup>13</sup>

But the earl's pleading was contrary to the facts, because in the Domesday survey we are told that the lord of Caverswall held half the church of Stoke. However, the prior was made to agree that half the advowson of the church of Stoke was of right the earl's, and for this recognition the earl gave 20s. of rent to the prior in the same manor to hold in free alms for ever. In the final concord the prior's 20s. rent was secured by the gift of two virgates of land in Seabridge.<sup>14</sup> Thus we see how the advowson of Stoke—and no doubt along with it the advowson of Wolstanton, because Vivian of Stoke had held it—was taken from the prior of Kenilworth, the rightful lord and given to the earl of Chester, who included it among the appurtenances of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. When the earl died in 1232, Henry III's grant of Newcastle-under-Lyme to Gilbert de Segrave included the advowsons of the church of Stoke and all religious foundations (*elemosinarum*). The royal grant of the castle and manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme to Henry de Audley in 1238 implies that the advowsons of Stoke and the other churches

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Ward, *Stoke-upon-Trent*, Appendix I.

<sup>13</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. IV, pp. 23-5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-3.

were included in the grant, and the inquisition eleven years later, concerning the value of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, states that the advowsons are worth one mark. In 1250 the king, in granting out the town and castle of Newcastle to James de Audley, reserved the advowsons of churches. By 1257, as already shown, the king had got hold of Whitmore chapel, which he made dependent on the church of Stoke, and in 1268<sup>15</sup> the king, not content with the chapel, was commanding the prior of Trentham to surrender the advowson of his priory to Edmund, earl of Lancaster, if the priory were appurtenant to the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

Again, in 1293, the prior of Trentham defended successfully a *Quo Warranto* writ questioning his right to the manor and advowson of Trentham.<sup>16</sup> From the Staffordshire Assize Rolls of that year we can see that the manorial rights had become much more complicated, since the formation of the manor in connection with the castle in 1154. The twelve jurymen who represented the Liberty of Newcastle-under-Lyme<sup>17</sup> said that Edmund, the king's brother, has the advowson of the church of Stoke near Newcastle, which is worth 160 marks annually, and, similarly, the advowson of the church of Wolstanton, which is worth 100 marks annually, and which were formerly of the donation of the king, and it is not known by what warrant Edmund holds them; and Edmund appeared by his attorney, and stated that Wolstanton is a chapelry pertaining to the church of Stoke, and that king Henry, the king's father, had given to him the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with the advowsons of the churches, and all things appertaining to it.

Although not a chapelry of Stoke, the perpetual vicarage of Wolstanton had been given by king John to Vivian of Stoke, who was the rector of Stoke church, so that when Vivian died it was considered that both churches were within the soke of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

Whether Edmund really believed that the advowson of Stoke was part of the grant of the manor of Newcastle made to him in 1267 is open to doubt, but he made good his claim, because thirty years later, in the inquisition made in Staffordshire about Edmund, the earl of Lancaster's rights in the manor of Newcastle, the jury state that the church of Stoke, with its chapels, viz. Newcastle, Whitmore, Norton [in the Moors], Burslem, and

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, p. 186.

<sup>16</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 241, 243.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

. . . [? St. Mary's chapel at the castle], near the fishpond of Newcastle, were of the lord's donation, and were worth £100, one year with another.<sup>18</sup>

The question naturally arises: When was Newcastle chapel attached to Stoke as the mother church? We know that about 1180 Newcastle chapel was an appanage of Trentham Priory church. There seem to be two periods in either of which the change could have taken place—(1) when Ranulf de Blundeville was lord of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, during which period he gained the advowson of Stoke; and (2) when the king caused the prior of Trentham to give up his rights in Whitmore chapel, i.e. between 1250 and 1257.

Between 1232 and 1267, sometimes the king, and at other times a tenant-in-chief, received the revenues of the churches of Stoke and Wolstanton, but when Edmund, earl of Lancaster, in the latter year received an undefined grant of the manor of Newcastle, he no doubt attached to the manorial court the rents and services due from the churches of Stoke and Wolstanton. The king had not been able to deprive the prior of his rights in the church and manor of Trentham, but he had acquired the chapels of Whitmore and Newcastle. As chapels they should be attached to a mother church. Trentham was out of the question, so the king naturally assigned them to Stoke, and so from the thirteenth century down to 1807 they were among the chapels of ease dependent on Stoke.

<sup>18</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 242-6.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE GILD MERCHANT.

FROM its foundation in 1172-73 until 1215 the borough of Newcastle remained in royal hands. Before 1173 the small town growing up in the vicinity of the castle was designated in the sheriff's accounts, "*Novum Oppidum*," but after the borough was formed sometimes the taxes were assessed on the "men of Newcastle" (*homines de Novo Castello*), at other times on the "township of Newcastle" (*villata de Novo Castello*), but more often on the "borough of Newcastle." When the men of Newcastle were tallaged <sup>1</sup> to the extent of £15 4s. 8d. in 1186-87, of which sum they owed £6 14s. 8d. next year,<sup>1</sup> and when the township for a default <sup>2</sup> was fined 20s., of which 7s. 4d. was paid in 1189-90, there seems to be no distinction between individual responsibility and the indebtedness of the community as a corporate whole. During the reign of Richard I (1189-99), the borough, in the absence of its royal master, was not heavily taxed. On the sheriff's accounts for 1189-90, besides the township's balance of 12s. 8d. due for default, he records <sup>2</sup> that the men of Newcastle owe 66s. 8d. for concealment. Right on through the reign of Richard the sheriff went on recording the two debts and no attempt was made to make the men of Newcastle settle their obligations until 1198, when a prominent royal official, Hugh Bardulf, to whom the king owed £60 for payment of Flemish mercenaries, was given a writ of reimbursement, so he collected from Newcastle the balance due from the default.<sup>3</sup> There is no record that the Newcastle people ever paid the 66s. 8d. Until the end of Richard's reign only one tallage <sup>4</sup> —41s. in 1195—was assessed on the borough of Newcastle. Then in 1199 the borough paid a tallage of eight marks.<sup>5</sup> In John's reign a tallage <sup>6</sup> of £9 17s. in 1205 (which was one shilling

<sup>1</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. I, pp. 130, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

more than the tallage on any other town or borough in Staffordshire), and one of seven marks <sup>7</sup> in 1206 were paid. In the year before John granted out the manor and borough of Newcastle to Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, his minister, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, assessed a tallage of 35 marks on Newcastle-under-Lyme,<sup>8</sup> which was five marks less than the tallage on the borough of Stafford. Besides the statement on the Inquest of Service of 1212,<sup>9</sup> that there were 160 burgages in the vill of Newcastle, each paying 12d. at four terms, practically the only other record of the borough of Newcastle during the reigns of Richard I and John are a few references on the assize rolls to the wine-sellers of Newcastle being fined for breaking the assize. Also, in 1203, the borough of Newcastle, for the privilege of changing its market from the Lord's Day to the Saturday, paid a fine of three marks.<sup>10</sup> Was this the market originally created in the manor of Trentham in 1172? After the borough of Newcastle had come under the control of the earl of Chester in 1215, for twenty years we learn very little about it. The first instance of a jury in Staffordshire in a criminal trial occurred in 1227, when the town of Newcastle, in the hundred of Pirehill, appeared at Lichfield by twelve jurors.<sup>11</sup> Murder had been committed by three men who were taken to Stafford and hanged by judgment of the County Court. When the king's bailiffs had first sought out the men accused of homicide, to put them into the king's prison, they had been prevented by Richard de Sandbach and William de Erdinton, the earl of Chester's bailiffs, therefore the latter were fined, and so was the town of Newcastle. That was one of the penalties for having close at hand a powerful earl as lord of the borough. Another penalty was the annual payment from the year 1232 of 60s., to be made to the abbot and monks of St. Werburgh's at Chester by the reeve or bailiff of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, to celebrate divine service for the soul of the earl of Chester.

#### THE CHARTER OF THE GILD MERCHANT.

Three years after the death of Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, the burgesses of Newcastle made a bargain with the king, who was already short of money, and quite willing to sell privileges to those who could pay a price for them. They bought

<sup>7</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> *Book of Fees*, p. 143.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. IV, pp. 71-2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> *Assize Roll*, 5 John.

a new charter of very great importance in the history of the borough, as it remained the governing charter for more than three and a half centuries. This charter of Henry III,<sup>12</sup> dated 18 September, 1235, granted to the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme—(1) the privileges of a Free Borough, which was probably a formal confirmation of the charter granted by Henry II; (2) the right to form themselves into an association, a Gild Merchant, that department of town administration whose duty was to maintain and regulate the trade monopoly, or even, as the privilege was often construed, to regulate trade and industry generally; (3) the right of trading freely throughout the land; and (4) exemption from tolls throughout the kingdom, saving only the liberties of the City of London.

The question naturally arises—What did the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme do when they received this charter granting them the privilege of a “Gild Merchant with all liberties and free customs to such a Gild appertaining”?

In 1235 there were nearly fifty towns in England which had been granted the right to form a Gild Merchant,<sup>13</sup> so that it would not be very difficult to find out how to form such a gild, and what liberties and free customs in general pertained to it. There are no contemporary documents relating to Newcastle which tell us how the gild was formed, but from the evidence of the proceedings of the men of Ipswich,<sup>14</sup> on the receipt of their charter in 1200, we may reasonably infer that the burgesses met in the churchyard of St. Giles to elect special officers, who would be required to take an oath that they would faithfully govern the gild and faithfully deal with all the brethren. Proclamation would be made for all who were of the liberty of the town to put themselves in the gild and give their “hanse” or entrance fee to the gild. Most likely the governing officers of the town would confer with the officers of the gild upon the best way to govern the gild, and statutes of the Gild Merchant would be entered on a roll to be kept in the custody of the chief gild officer. There is evidence that the Newcastle Gild Merchant was regulated by statutes, for in the early borough minutes in 46 Edward III (1372-73), in the case of John of Wygan, who had rebelled a second time against the Mayor, the bailiffs, and the 24, also against his own oath and the statutes and liberties of the town, it was enacted by “the Mayor and the 24 and the statutes of the

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>13</sup> Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, pp. 9-16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 115 ff.

Gild " that if he were rebellious a third time, or insulting to his superiors or the statutes of the town, he should pay 20s. to the common chest, and should lose his freedom for ever.<sup>15</sup>

One hundred and thirty years later, when three disfranchised burgesses were restored to their freedom, it is stated that they had disobeyed against the "yeld roole" (i.e. gild rule).<sup>16</sup> The statutes of the fraternity were enforced by various officers at the head of whom in many places was an alderman.<sup>17</sup> The first mention of aldermen in Newcastle is in the first book of the Minutes in 6 Richard II (1382-83), when an order was made about the sale of beer "by the consent and assent of the aforesaid Mayor (William de Thiknesse, Junior) and the 24 Aldermen."<sup>18</sup> But these officers belonged to the organisation of the borough, not of the gild. Fortunately, in the same book and in the same reign, there is mention of a Gild Merchant held at Whitsuntide, 1382, and there are two lists of officers and of burgesses elected into their freedom at the gild, one for 12 Richard II (1389),<sup>19</sup> and the other for 19 Richard II (1396).<sup>20</sup>

Both in 1389 and in 1396 the one steward (senescallus) was John Kene or John le Kene, whose main duties would be to preside at the gild meetings, to see that the statutes were not infringed, to take charge of the muniments, to settle disputes among the brethren, to see that the dues were collected, and to look after the possessions of the gild.<sup>21</sup> In both years the two ushers or doorkeepers were Richard Tupp and Roger Hewster; there were two treasurers or "Receivers of Pence," Thomas le Bowyer in both years, Henry le Stonylowe in 1389, and Richard Sadler in 1396; two cup-bearers (pincernæ), Thomas le Happe and Stephen Sawmfaile, in 1389, and John Swanylde and William Hanchurch in 1396; and John de Erdislowe was the clerk (clericus). These were all the functionaries in the late fourteenth century, but it does not follow that from their inception a century and a half earlier the gild offices had always been the same. It may have been so, but we have no definite information.

But in the two official lists which have been preserved are recorded the names of the most important men in the Gild Merchant. They are divided into the "Prima Duodena" and the "Secunda Duodena," though in 1389 the list of the "First

<sup>15</sup> Appendix F, p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*, I, 26.

<sup>19</sup> Appendix F, p. 160 *et seq.*

<sup>21</sup> Gross, I, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix G, p. 187.

<sup>18</sup> Appendix F, p. 154.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix F, p. 164 *et seq.*

Twelve" contained thirteen,<sup>19</sup> and in 1396 fourteen names.<sup>20</sup> Again, the "Secunda Duodena" of 1396 total only eleven.<sup>20</sup> Were the 24 aldermen mentioned in 1382, who were evidently the governing body in the borough, the same as the "Prima Duodena" and the "Secunda Duodena" of the Gild Merchant? If the twenty-four special members of the Gild were not the same persons as the "24" who exercised wide authority in the government of the borough then, so far as is known from the published records of medieval English boroughs, the case of Newcastle is unique. At Leicester there were twenty-four jurats, important gild officers, who seem to be identical with the governing body of the borough,<sup>22</sup> and only in this town is there mention of such a number ruling the gild. But, as is shown in the next chapter, the organisation of the gild at Newcastle does not seem to run quite parallel with that at Leicester.

It appears that at Newcastle the gild met on three consecutive days—Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in Whitsuntide. At any rate, such was the custom in the fourteenth century.<sup>23</sup> And as the only recorded meetings of the Gild Merchant in Newcastle occur in 1382, 1389, and 1396, it is possible that the Gild Merchant met every seven years, while at the daughter town of Preston it met every twenty years. At the regular meetings, or on days specially appointed, there was much eating and drinking, the preparations for which were superintended by the pincernæ. The election of ostiarii implies that a hall was owned or hired. Sixty years after the Gild Merchant charter was granted we have the first reference to the Gildhall of Newcastle in the charter of renunciation granted by the Mayor and commonalty of the borough to Edmund, earl of Lancaster.<sup>24</sup> When we turn to the earliest minutes of the borough records we find mention in 1369 of a Common Hall.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps this was the same hall where the gildsmen transacted their business. It might be the Common Hall for the borough administrators and the Gildhall for the gild officers. Although for the fourteenth century this is only a surmise, yet two centuries later it is a reasonable inference, when we consider a clause in queen Elizabeth's charter, long after the fusion of borough and gild administration was complete. In the charter granted by queen Elizabeth to the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1590, it was ordained that the assemblies of the borough officers for their business meetings should

<sup>22</sup> Bateson, *Records of Leicester*, Vol. I, p. xlv.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix F, pp. 160 and 164.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix E, p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> Appendix F, p. 143.

take place in a certain building within the said borough commonly called the Gildhall, or otherwise the Common Hall. Prior to 1590 the accounts of the elections of the borough officers on the Tuesday following the feast of St. Michael the Archangel merely record the names of the officers, their offices, the taking of the oath, and the date; the place of assembly is not stated. The beginning of the *Red Book*, the second book of the borough records, is coëval with queen Elizabeth's charter, and at each assembly of the governing body of the town it is stated that the meeting took place in the Gildhall.

When anyone was enrolled in the gild certain initiation fees had to be paid. It is not quite clear from the Newcastle records whether the persons enrolled at the meetings of the Gild Merchant were admitted to the freedom of the gild, or to the freedom of the town. According to the list of those who received their freedom "at the Gild" in 1389, 10s. was then the usual entry fee. Of the nineteen men elected "into their liberty," fifteen paid the recognised sum, two paid one mark each, and two paid nothing. William Wylkinson and William Aloms paid more, either in accordance with their means, or to the extent to which it was likely that they would use the privileges of the society.<sup>19</sup>

Nicholas Kene and Thomas de Podmore, Jun., were elected and paid nothing, by the consent of the "24 seniors," no doubt because among the "Prima Duodena" were Thomas de Podmore and John le Kene. Perhaps these two succeeded by inheritance. Relatives of the most influential gildsmen (as well as burgesses) often received preferential treatment. In the case of John Tupp in 1396, a relaxation of half the fee was made "cum assensu maioris et 24."<sup>20</sup> As these were town officers, it would appear that the freedom of the town was being conferred. Other points in support of this theory can be instanced. There is a close similarity in form between these admissions at the gild and those at the Michaelmas Leet. Even against the admissions at the gild, in the margin occurs the word "Burġ." In a Gild Merchant case of 1280, the defendants from Newcastle-under-Lyme pleaded that they were burgesses (not gildsmen) of the borough, and that it was not lawful for anyone but burgesses of Newcastle to cut cloth, nor to sell by the ell, nor to keep a shop, unless he was in the gild of the said borough.<sup>26</sup> When John Bikley, from the county of Chester, was elected a burgess in 1410, he received his freedom on condition that he resided within the

<sup>26</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*, II, p. 180.

borough; but, it was provided, that if at some *gild or leet* this ordinance were changed, he would be entered according to the new ordinance.<sup>27</sup> Most likely, as at Preston, burgesses could be enrolled temporarily at a meeting of the Gild Merchant, and the enrolment would be confirmed at the following leet. It is also significant that a mayor signed one of the gild rolls, and that a similar borough officer received the fines for the reinstatement of those who had disobeyed against the "yeld roole" in 1502.<sup>28</sup> All this indirect evidence goes a long way in proving that those who were elected into their freedom at a gild meeting were receiving the freedom of the borough. For those who received their freedom, whether of gild or borough, sureties were required, so that obligations should be fulfilled, dues paid, and general good conduct observed. Two sureties most frequently occur, and at Newcastle they followed the general practice. In the case of a newly-elected gildsman, he was also required to take an oath of fealty to the fraternity, swearing to observe its laws, to uphold its privileges, not to divulge its counsels, to obey its officers, and not to aid any non-gildsman under cover of newly-acquired "freedom."<sup>29</sup> Residence in the same town was not generally a qualification for membership, but whatever the rule may have been in the thirteenth century at Newcastle, by 1389 residence in the town was a necessary condition for election to the freedom at the gild.<sup>19</sup> Women could also be elected because they took an active part in various trades, notably brewing. Although among the thirty-two members elected at the gild in 1389 and in 1396 no names of women occur, yet when Richard Chaloner, the fisher, received his freedom in 1389, his only surety was Agnes Chaloner,<sup>19</sup> which implied that she had already been elected into her freedom.<sup>30</sup> In 1389 it was arranged that the initiation fees were to be paid in equal parts, viz. at the feast of St. Giles and at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel.<sup>19</sup> In the case of the first newly-elected freeman, Thomas Yorke, it was stated that his fees should be paid to the receivers of the town. As all the other freemen were said to be elected under the same conditions as Thomas Yorke, we are in doubt whether the scribe really meant "town" or "gild." Certainly in 1396 the newcomers are told to pay their fees to the receivers of the "gild."<sup>20</sup> Also, in 1396, the times of payment were altered, the feast of St. John the Baptist being substituted for the feast of St. Giles.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Appendix F, p. 174.

<sup>28</sup> Appendix G, p. 187.

<sup>29</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*, I, p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Contrary to the accepted view, women could be and were elected ordinary burgesses at Newcastle (*vide* Appendix F, p. 144 and p. 146).

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE GILD MERCHANT (*Contd.*).

WHEN we proceed to enquire into the functions of the gild and the privileges of the gildsmen much light is thrown upon these questions, as they existed at an earlier period, by the evidence in certain cases which were tried in the law courts late in the thirteenth century. Professor Gross, in his *Gild Merchant*, has printed full accounts from the Plea Rolls of the reign of Edward I of two of these trials and summaries of two others.<sup>1</sup>

In 1280 several burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme were summoned for seizing ten fleeces of wool belonging to Richard the Baker of Stafford. In their defence, they say that king Henry III granted to the burgesses of Newcastle "that the burgesses of the said town might have a Gild Merchant in the said borough with all liberties and free customs belonging to such a Gild, and that by the liberty of this Gild the custom of the borough is such that no one is allowed to sell or buy any wool in the aforesaid borough, except those who are in the aforesaid Gild, except by sacks or some other great weight." They say that they seized Richard's wool because he bought it contrary to the liberty of the gild; and they show a charter of 19 Henry III, granting them a Gild Merchant with all the liberties and free customs pertaining to such a gild. "Being asked what liberties they claim to have pertaining to the aforesaid Gild they say that no one, unless he should be of the liberty of the Gild, can cut cloth to sell in the town, nor cut up meat and fish, nor buy fresh leather, nor purchase wool by the fleece, except by great weight, i.e. by the stone, sack, or half sack. . . ." This privilege, "that no one may buy wool by retail in the said town of Newcastle, unless he be of the liberty of the said Gild, pertains to that Gild." In another case of the same year, Thomas, son of Thomas of

<sup>1</sup> Gross, *Gild Merchant*, II, 177-82. To this work I am indebted not only for the general account of the Gild Merchant, but also for the particulars in the cases which follow. Good summaries of two of the same cases are given in *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 111, 166.

Newcastle-under-Lyme, Hugh le Mareschall, William de Routisley, Hugh son of Thomas, William de Thynces, Henry le Barbur, Thomas le Fōrester, John le Schot, Stephen de Derby, Richard Warwe, and Benedict le Marchaunt were summoned by William de Pykestok for taking and illegally detaining his chattels, viz. four ells "de rayo afforsato" (of an unmixed kind of fine striped cloth) of the value of 40d. per ell. The defendants appeared and admitted they had taken the cloth, and said they were burgesses of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and that in that borough there was a Gild Merchant, by grant of king Henry, the father of the king, with all liberties and customs pertaining to it, and it was the custom in the said borough appertaining to the gild that it was not lawful for anyone but the burgesses of the said borough to cut cloth (*pannum scindere*), nor to sell by the ell (*per vlnas vendere*), nor to keep a shop (*schoppam tenere*), unless he was in the gild of the said borough; and because the said William had kept a shop in the said town, and cut cloth and sold it by the ell against the liberties of the said borough, they had taken the four ells in question, and they produced the charter of king Henry, the king's father. William admitted he did not belong to the gild, but stated he was a burgess of Stafford, and that all the burgesses of Stafford possess all liberties and free customs the same as any other burgess of England, saving within the City of London, by the grant of king John, the grandfather of the king. He admitted that it pertained to the gild that merchants coming into the said vill of Newcastle could not cut their cloth nor sell by the ell, nor could sell wool excepting by large weight and by sacks, and not by small weight and by fleeces, unless they belonged to the said gild; nevertheless, he and other burgesses of Stafford, by reason of the liberties and customs they possess by the aforesaid charter, which was sued out (*impetrata*) on 1 May, 7 John, always after the grant of the said charter, had freely cut their cloth in the said borough of Newcastle, and had sold by the ell wool and fleeces by small weight without having been received into the gild, until a year ago, when they were prevented by Thomas and the other defendants who had seized their chattels. The defendants stated that neither the said William nor the other burgesses of Stafford had cut cloth, etc., within the said vill since the grant of the charter of king Henry, which was dated 18 September, 19 Henry III, and they appealed to a jury. The Sheriff was therefore commanded to summon a jury for the morrow of the Purification. A postscript adds that after several adjournments through defect of a jury,

at length at Trinity Term, 13 Edward I, a jury came who stated on their oath that the said William and the other burgesses of Stafford had always been accustomed to cut cloth in the said vill and sell it by the ell, and likewise to sell wool by the fleece, and to keep shops without being received into the said gild, until they had been prevented seven years ago. It is therefore considered that William should recover his chattels, and his damages were taxed at 40s. On the same membrane is another plea brought by Thomas Gerbod of Stafford against Henry le Barbur of Newcastle-under-Lyme and twenty-seven others for seizing two ells of coarse undyed cloth and two fleeces of wool. The plaintiff, by similar pleading, won his case, with 60s. damages.

In the fourth case Simon Breton, William Gilbert, William Schelde, Robert Wulrich, and William Reyner, burgesses of Stafford, were summoned by William, son of Thomas Swanild, for illegally taking his chattels—viz. three skins—in the vill of Stafford. The defendants pleaded they were burgesses of the town of Stafford, and king John by his charter had conceded that Stafford should be a free borough for ever, and that the burgesses should have the borough *cum soca*, etc., and all other liberties and free customs, and they state that from time out of memory it had been the custom that no stranger who was not of the liberty could sell wool by the fleece, and they produced the charter of king John, dated 1 May, in the seventh year of his reign. And William, son of Thomas Swanild, stated that he was a burges of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and that king Henry had granted them a charter by which the town was made a free borough, and leave given that they might have a Gild Merchant in the same borough, with permission to sell their merchandise throughout England and freedom from all tolls and *passagium*. A postscript stated that the parties appeared at Michaelmas Term, 15 Edward I, and a verdict was given in favour of the burgesses of Stafford, on the ground that the plaintiff showed nothing against the immemorial customs of the town of Stafford, and the charter of Newcastle was posterior in date to the charter given by king John to the town of Stafford.

All these cases involved disputes between burgesses, who were also gildsmen of Newcastle-under-Lyme and burgesses of Stafford. The Stafford burgesses never received by a definite grant in a charter the privilege of a Gild Merchant; but Stafford was a very old borough, and the burgesses there claimed that, when king John, in the seventh year of his reign, granted them that

their town should be a free borough for ever "et [cum] omnibus aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus quas ipsi antiquitus habere consueuerunt," among the free customs so confirmed was this "that no stranger who was not of the liberty [of Stafford] could sell wool by the fleece." They also claimed that after this grant of a royal charter in 1206 they had cut cloth in Newcastle and sold it by the ell, they had sold wool by the fleece, and had kept shops there without being received into the gild. The gildsmen of Newcastle relied on their charter of 1235; but according to the local juries half a century later, the royally privileged traders of a new borough, even though royally founded, could not by their statutes override the immemorial customs of an ancient borough.

What were "all those liberties and free customs" granted by Henry II to the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme? Why did not the burgesses make any reference to this charter, because, at any rate, it was anterior to the charter upon which the Stafford burgesses relied? Either the Newcastle burgesses had lost their foundation charter, or it had no value in regard to the regulation of trade within the borough.

We see that the Newcastle gildsmen claimed the right to trade freely in their own town and in other towns as well. Their greatest privilege was exemption from the payment of toll on all wares that they were permitted to buy or sell. Non-gildsmen, in addition to the disabilities already mentioned, had to pay tolls.

In most of these fraternities the gildsman was generally under obligation to share all purchases with his brethren, that is to say, if he bought a quantity of a given commodity, any other gildsmen could claim a portion of it at the same price as that at which he purchased it. The aim of this law was manifestly to do away with middlemen and keep down prices.<sup>2</sup>

In return for the enjoyment of the privileges of membership, the principal obligation imposed upon the gildsman was "to be in scot and lot" with the burgesses.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the gildsman was bound to render the authorities of the borough assistance, according to his means, whenever they needed money. A gildsman need not be a burgess, nor was it imperative that a burgess should enter the gild, though, according to the wording of the charter of Henry III, he had the option. Some of the burge-ge-holders might decline to join the gild, either because they were unwilling to pay the fees and be "in scot and lot" with the

<sup>2</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*, I, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 53.

members of the gild, or because they were not sufficiently interested in trade.

Also, gild membership in many boroughs could be enjoyed by persons living at a distance, in the neighbourhood of the town, who were not burgesses, though in the Newcastle records there is no specific mention of such. Again, a person could be an inhabitant of a town without being either a burgess or a gildsman.

Although the Gild Merchant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a very important part of the municipal administrative machinery, it was not a body in which the general local government was centred. In the thirteenth century trade was not yet the dominant power in town life that it afterwards came to be. Trade and industry underwent a great expansion during the period of the three Edwards, so that the mercantile interests must have become completely dominant in many towns.

The borough records of Newcastle-under-Lyme, so far as they are still extant, begin in the latter part of the reign of Edward III, and a consideration of them down to 1411, when a gap of nearly a century occurs, will help us to distinguish between gild and borough spheres of administration.

We know that these were two different bodies as late as the reign of Richard II. In 1395-96 we have a list of some of the borough officers <sup>4</sup> before the list of gild officers is recorded, viz. a mayor, two bailiffs, and a serjeant, two wardens of the assize of bread, and two receivers of money for the town, Richard de Chamber and Roger Smyth. As there were also two receivers of money for the gild, Thomas Bowyer and Richard Sadler, in the same year there was not one common chest for the borough and the gild. The election of the borough officers always took place on the Tuesday immediately after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, while the gild meeting was at Whitsuntide. But while in king Richard II's reign there were still two different sets of officers for gild and borough, there are not wanting signs of a probable amalgamation. During part of the period under consideration (1368-95), the names of the mayors of twenty-two years are known to us, but there seem to be only eight different men who occupied this position. Roger Letys was mayor five times, John Colclough also five times, and William de Thicknesse no less than ten times. When John Colclough was mayor in 1388-89 his name does not occur among the *Prima Duodena* of the gild, but when he was not mayor, in 1395-96, his name is second on

<sup>4</sup> Appendix F, p. 163 *et seq.*

the list. Similarly, when William de Thicknesse was mayor in 1396, his name is missing from the *Prima Duodena* of the gild, but he was second on the list in 1389, during the mayoralty of John Colclough.

In the *Prima Duodena* of 1389 occur all the names of the mayors for the previous twenty years, except those of Richard de Launedon (Lavendene), mayor 45 Edward III, and Richard de Colclough, mayor 49 Edward III, and the mayor for the time being, viz. John Colclough. There is no name of a mayor in the *Secunda Duodena*. It is quite probable that the two early mayors do not occur among the most influential gild brethren in 1389, because they had died in the interim since they had held office. The bailiffs might belong to the gild, they might be in the *Prima Duodena* or in the *Secunda Duodena*, but from an examination of the existing lists, it does not appear that a bailiff must be a gildsman. The man who served the office of bailiff on most occasions during this period was the steward of the gild, John Kene, one of the *Prima Duodena* in 1389 and 1396. He was one of the bailiffs in the following years—1372-73, 1373-74, 1376-77, 1382-83, and 1383-84. John Colclough, the mayor in 1388-89, served as a bailiff in 1377-78, 1379-80, and 1380-81.

Six of the *Secunda Duodena* in 1389 had served the same office on one or two occasions. The two bailiffs in 1388-89, Richard Tup and Roger Hewster, were also the doorkeepers or ushers of the gild. Although they were officers of the gild, their names do not occur in either of the *Duodene* for that year. The same two men were ushers of the gild in 1396, and Richard Tup's name is last but one among the *Secunda Duodena*. It is unfortunate that at the elections of borough officers for the year 1395-96 the scribe has left a three-inch space for the names of the bailiffs to be filled in. Besides the office of mayor or bailiff, other positions were occupied by some of the *Prima Duodena* and *Secunda Duodena* of 1389. Nicholas de Chamber, who was bailiff in 1369-70 and 1370-71, and mayor in 1374-75, along with John de Lylleshull became in 1375-76 one of the mill-tenants for a term of four years. Geoffrey Stringer was a receiver of pence in 1383-84 and 1384-85, and took charge of the common oven in 1385-86. There was a special tallage in 1375, and the two collectors appointed were Hugh de Anderton and Gilbert Bickerstath. These four were on the *Prima Duodena* list of 1389. As mentioned before, six of the *Secunda Duodena* for the same year had held the office of bailiff, and the only other office that had been held by any of them was that of "Receiver of the rent of the town of

Newcastle-under-Lyme and of the rent of the Blessed Mary of the same town." The two receivers so described in 1384 were William de Whitmore and Stephen Sawmfayle.

In totalling up the sums received by the gild in 1389, the amount £9 os. 6d. is entered. There may have been other small sources of income, but if all those received into the liberty at the gild had paid their fees in full there would still be 3s. 10d. short of this amount.

The names of those who signed the entries on the gild roll were Thomas Thicknesse, John Colclough, and Thomas Bowyer. The first and last names occur on the Secunda Duodena list, but the middle name is that of the Mayor. At the gild in 1396 three persons were elected into their liberty and were excused payment. One was Helias Woř (? Woore), capellanus, most likely the curate in charge of St. Giles, because an earlier entry states that the chaplain of the borough receives his freedom without payment.<sup>5</sup> Dominus William Benet, "rector," who also paid nothing, would be the Rector of Stoke-upon-Trent, as the church of St. Giles was then a chapel of ease in that parish.

It is noticeable that most of the gild officers in 1396 were the same as in 1389. John Kene, the "seneschal" or steward, Richard Tup and Roger Hewster, the ushers, Thomas Bowyer, one of the two receivers of the money, and John Erdislowe, the clerk, were the same on both occasions. The two butlers and one receiver of money were different. As already mentioned, many of the principal men in the Gild Merchant also directed the counsels of the town, and no doubt this tendency towards amalgamation in the membership of the two bodies helped to consolidate their functions and organisation. When in 1590 the Gildhall is definitely mentioned as the place of assembly for town business, most likely the fusion of gild and borough had for some time become complete.

One other matter in connection with the Gild Merchant requires notice. In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries the term "merchant" was not confined to large dealers, but embraced all who traded, and craftsmen were freely admitted.<sup>6</sup> In a few mercantile centres the crafts were ultimately allowed to participate in the government of the town, but usually they had no political functions, being merely economic organs, strictly subservient to the governing body of the town.<sup>7</sup> After the fourteenth century there are numerous examples of the establishment

<sup>5</sup> Appendix F, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 113.

and incorporation of craft guilds or trading companies by the town authorities. The craftsmen were allowed to regulate their trade, subject to the general control of the burghal magistrates.

In the Newcastle records only two references to craft guilds occur, both in the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1510 the maior and his brethren, with the consent of the great inquest and the small, are agreed that the butchers shall make a banner and keep a light before our Lady. No butcher was to set up his trade except by agreement with the craft, an apprentice to pay 2s., and anyone else 3s. 4d. Two wardens were appointed annually to see that the rules were observed such as "No man shall sell any fleshe but his owne," "No person dwelling in this towne shall kill any flesh but of his owne rearinge," "To sett open no [shop] wyndowes at service tyme," and so on.<sup>8</sup>

In 1522 the smiths were to have their old custom of keeping up a light, also they were to cover the church porch "on this side Christmas daye next cominge."

<sup>8</sup> Appendix G, pp. 189, 190.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE CHARTER OF THE FEE-FARM RENT.

IN the two preceding chapters we have seen how the grant of the charter of the Gild Merchant in 1235 meant the regulation and development of trade for the people of Newcastle. The king had extended the privileges of his free borough, but the Constable of the Castle, Adam Esturmy, as the royal representative in the manor, had many rights also in the town. When Henry de Audley rented from the king the castle and manor from 1238 to 1246, he was granted the customs which the good men of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme used to pay when they were in the king's hands, and he was enjoined to treat the good men of the town by the same laws and customs as they used to be treated at that time, and they were to hold their lands and assarts as they used to do. How much money could Henry de Audley extract from the borough? For the whole manor he had to render at the exchequer nearly £69 per annum, and he would want to get as much as possible out of the burgesses. First of all, he could collect the shilling rents from the burgage-holders, worth about £8. The fines and fees paid in the courts, the dues paid by merchants who came to trade from outside the borough, the rent of the town oven, the profits of the mill and the like, were all collected by Audley's bailiff. With increasing trade and business the rents and dues also increased, and extra profits benefited the lord as well as the burgesses of Newcastle. We get a good idea of the total rents and dues which Henry de Audley drew from the borough by examining an inquisition<sup>1</sup> into the value of the manor and borough of Newcastle made in 1249, three years after Audley's death. All the burgage rents of Newcastle amounted to £8 18s. 4d.; the town bakehouse was worth £5; the pleas, fairs, toll, and other perquisites were £12 13s. 4d., making a total of £26 13s. 4d. :

In addition, the rent of the mill was estimated at £16 per

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, File 20 (2).

annum, and the Crown reserved all profits arising from pleas of bloodshed from noon on Saturday till Monday. It is difficult to assess the amounts paid by week-end revellers, but even when we omit that source of revenue the annual rent of the mill and the other dues from the burgesses totalled £42 13s. 4d. All these rents were collected by a bailiff, appointed by Audley when he was custodian of the manor, and most likely by the sheriff when the manor was in the king's hands. His interference would be vexatious and it limited the self-government granted by charter, because it was difficult to define where the royal bailiff's rights and duties ended. He was almost certain to clash with the elected borough officers in their sphere of operations.

#### THE CHARTER OF THE FEE-FARM RENT.

Many free boroughs got rid of the "foreign" bailiff by obtaining a "farm" of the town, that is, by compounding all the rights of the king for a fixed sum, and themselves collecting the miscellaneous dues. Sometimes the grant of the fee-farm was for a short period, but many fortunate boroughs obtained the grant in perpetuity. Newcastle-under-Lyme was one of the boroughs thus favoured for in 1251 the king granted to "our Mayor and Burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme" that they could collect their fee-farm rent and pay it to the king's bailiff there, one-half at Easter and the other half at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and no sheriff or king's bailiff or other royal officer was to interfere in the borough so long as the rent was paid. The original charter, according to the copy on the Charter Rolls,<sup>2</sup> did not specify the amount of the fee-farm rent, but in 1293, when Edmund, earl of Lancaster, stated what were his rights in the manor and borough of Newcastle, he claimed in the town nothing except the lordship of it, and a farm of forty marks. As this was the exact sum due from the burgesses in 1249, they seem to have made a remarkably good bargain with the king. Usually, for the relief of ridding themselves of an obnoxious and "foreign" officer, the burgesses of a free borough were quite willing to pay something extra. Before the reign of Henry III twenty-nine boroughs were emancipated from the financial control of the sheriffs by grants of the *firma burgi*, and no less than seventeen of these obtained the grant from king John.<sup>3</sup> As soon as Henry III took

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Ballard, *Brit. Borough Chart.*, 1042-1216, pp. 220-31.

over the reins of government (1227) new charters were granted.

Altogether eleven more boroughs <sup>4</sup> during his reign (1216-72), including Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1251, received the charter granting to the burgesses the right of collecting the royal dues at a fixed rent. When the burgesses of Newcastle received their grant they had already been for a year under the rule of James de Audley, for from October, 1250, he farmed the town and castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme, rendering at the exchequer £80 per annum.<sup>5</sup> In 1251 James de Audley's bailiff had collected from the burgesses of Newcastle the 60s. rent charge due to the abbot of Chester by reason of Ranulf de Blundeville's legacy. How was this sum to be paid after the burgesses had gained the right of collecting their own *firma burgi*? James de Audley would not pay it out of the rents he received from the manor, and he could no longer pay it out of the forty marks from the borough, because the burgesses now paid their fixed rent to the king. The matter was settled in October, 1252, by the king's order to his men and bailiffs of Newcastle-under-Lyme to pay £3 to the abbot of Chester every year so long as they held the aforesaid vill at farm of the king, at the terms which the king granted it to them by his charter, and as the abbot was accustomed to receive them by the hands of James de Audley when he held the vill at farm of the king.<sup>6</sup> Besides this extra charge, the burgesses were obliged to pay any royal tallages assessed on their borough. In 1262 the sheriff of Staffordshire (probably James de Audley, who was appointed 9 July, 1261) was ordered to cause the 25 marks which were due from the vill of Newcastle-under-Lyme for tallage, to be levied and paid to Richard le Brun.<sup>7</sup> Nearly twenty years later, when the town of Newcastle had become mediatised under Edmund, earl of Lancaster, at their lord's request the king granted to the burgesses a three days' fair at the feast of the Holy Trinity.<sup>8</sup> The original grant of 1281 is among the borough archives. But under such a powerful lord as the king's brother even royal charters might be annulled. Despite the fact that the earl in 1293 claimed only the lordship of the borough, and the 40 marks of fee-farm rent, soon afterwards he insisted that the burgesses were only his tenants at will, and the mayor and

<sup>4</sup> Ballard and Tait, *Brit. Borough Chart.*, 1216-1307, lvi. Oxford (1256) is a misprint for Orford. Bedford should be omitted; its first grant was in 1190.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> For full transcript, see Appendix D.

commonalty of the borough were made to renounce their fee-farm grant, so that for some years the earl of Lancaster's bailiff came into the borough to collect for his lord the dues which, according to the document of renunciation,<sup>9</sup> could be raised from the fair at the festival of St. Giles, the markets, the tolls, the court, the ancient burgages, the Gildhall, the ovens, and the rented stalls. All the liberties granted by Henry III's charter of the Gild Merchant and by Edward I's grant of the Trinity Fair were still to be enjoyed by the burgesses of Newcastle: only the *firma burgi* charter was annulled. We do not know if the burgesses of Newcastle, on the death of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, in 1296, resumed their privilege of collecting the royal dues, but from the evidence of certain Ministers' Accounts preserved among the Duchy of Lancaster records we find that they were collecting their farm in 1322. Let us consider the accounts as far as they concern the burgesses of Newcastle. The first in chronological order, dated from 24 March, 1322, to 4 July, 1323, is that of Roger Beler, steward of the castle and Honor of Tutbury.<sup>10</sup> To him John Lovot, the provost of Newcastle manor, rendered account of £20 "farm of the borough," paid by John, son of Thomas, and Robert de Blorton, no doubt the bailiffs, and of £16 13s. 4d. "farm" of the mills paid by Randolph Tholes and Richard Lagou. The assessed rents of the manor, amounting only to £10 14s., were collected by John Lovot himself. Except for the rent of the mills, the dues collected were much below what one might have expected. But this was the year in which Thomas, the second Lancastrian lord of the manor and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, met his death as a rebel. He was defeated at Boroughbridge, arrested at Tutbury, 11 March, 1322, and executed at Pontefract. On 24 March of the same year a commission of Oyer and Terminer<sup>11</sup> was granted to Roger Beler, John Cheynel and Henry de Hambury, touching persons who entered castles, manors, etc., late of divers rebels, and in the king's hands through forfeiture, such as Newcastle-under-Lyme, Heleigh Castle, and Tutbury Castle, and touching keepers and ministers of the king who appropriated goods there and committed other offences. Evidently the farm due from the borough of Newcastle ought to have been more than £20, otherwise the burgesses in 1325 would not have petitioned the king to confirm

<sup>9</sup> For full transcript, see Appendix E.

<sup>10</sup> *Duchy Lanc. Min. Accts.*, No. 11, Bundle 1146.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, p. 156.

the grant of the fee-farm rent at 40 marks, which they were accustomed to pay, but which farm is not specifically put in their charter ("laquele ferme n'est mie especifie en lour chartre").<sup>12</sup> The next is a very full account of 1386-87, most of the rents and payments relating to the manor and not the borough.<sup>13</sup> William Bateson, the prepositus of Newcastle, under the heading of "farms" rendered account of £40 of the burgesses with tolls of the market and fairs, also of £40 of the mills farmed to the same burgesses. Similar accounts were rendered by John Donyngton in 1399-1400, also by Henry Rugges at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI, but in this case half the farm of the mills was respited.<sup>14</sup> From subsequent accounts in the reign of Henry VI, the farm of the borough was entered as £40, but frequently £10 were respited, because the burgesses were unable to pay the full amount. Similarly, the farm of the mills tended to become £20 instead of £40. Only once in the period during which the Ministers' Accounts in the Duchy of Lancaster records (1322-1484) occur is there any mention in the minute books of the Corporation of the amount of the fee-farm which the bailiffs of the borough ought to pay. That occurs in 1382-83, when Gilbert de Bickerstath and John Kene were to pay to the Duke of Lancaster £40 for the fee-farm of the said town.<sup>15</sup> Besides paying the fee-farm of the borough to the Duke of Lancaster the burgesses of Newcastle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (according to the Ministers' Accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster) farmed the mills at a fixed rent of £40. But this amount was soon reduced. In the minute books of the Corporation in 1405 there is recorded<sup>16</sup> a copy of Henry IV's order to his auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster within the county of Stafford to pardon and release to the poor tenants of the Duchy, viz. the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme twenty marks per annum of the farm of £40 which they ought to pay annually for the mills, and when the receivers and provost of the manor of Newcastle accounted before the auditor he was to allow the reduction of twenty marks. About this time much rioting occurred in North Staffordshire, and this is one indication that the disturbances reacted on the borough of Newcastle. A few years later and the minutes of the Corporation either were not recorded or were destroyed for the period 1411 to 1491. Therefore we can glean from them no reason why the

<sup>12</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. I, p. 418.

<sup>13</sup> *Min. Acc.*, No. 6144, Bundle 367.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2904, Bundle 183.

<sup>15</sup> Appendix F, p. 154.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix F, p. 171.

rent of the mills was so considerably reduced in the early part of the fifteenth century, but there had evidently been a decrease in the borough resources. It appears that when Edmund, earl of Lancaster, annulled the Newcastle *firma burgi* charter, he made the burgesses pay £40 instead of 40 marks. Had he not gained for them the Trinity Fair? Therefore, when we meet with the amount of the farm paid by the borough, we see that the £40 were paid for "the farm of the burgesses with toll of the market and fairs, etc." As through the fifteenth century, the tendency was for the farm of the borough to be in arrear, first of all £10 were abated, and later £20, so we are not surprised to learn from "The Presentment of the Jury<sup>17</sup> impanelled for the survey of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the Countye of Stafford," 31 October, 1615, that the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme hold to them and their heirs or successors in fee-farm and pay £20. At the present time, in the annual statement of accounts of the borough, the payment of £15 2s. 10d. for the fee-farm to the Duchy of Lancaster revenues forms an inconsiderable but by no means an insignificant item of expenditure. One very important financial gain to the present ratepayers as a result of the *firma burgi* charter is that the tolls of the markets, which produce hundreds of pounds a year, benefit not the king who is lord of the borough, but the inhabitants of Newcastle.

The charter of the fee-farm (1251) granted to "our Mayor and Burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme" indicates that one change in the governing officers of the borough when Henry III granted the Gild Merchant charter in 1235 was the appointment of a mayor. Another important innovation which can safely be ascribed to the period immediately following the Gild Merchant charter was the use of a seal, although we have no definite mention of "a common seal" until the mayor and commonalty of the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme renounced (1293-96) their right to collect their fee-farm rent. The actual grant of a common seal to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses for transacting their business occurs in the charter granted by queen Elizabeth, 18 May, 1590, but that was obviously a formal grant of the borough's prescriptive right. The only seal of the borough registered at the College of Arms is in the *Visitation of Staffordshire* made in 1583 by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, as deputy to William Flower, Norroy King of Arms.

<sup>17</sup> Ward, *Stoke-upon-Trent*, p. xli.

From the illustration of the modern seal, which differs only in detail from the seal used as early as the fifteenth century,<sup>18</sup> it will be seen that it is circular and bears on a battlemented parapet an elaborate building with three gables, and below is a river or pool with fish therein. On the frieze under the battlements occur three shields of arms: (1) a lion rampant within a bordure charged with roundles; (2) the three leopards for England; (3) three garbs. The legend in Lombardic letters is: "SIGILL: COMVNE: BVRGENSIVM: NOVI: CASTELLI." The first



*Drawn by C. Pape.*

coat-of-arms appears to be for Richard, earl of Cornwall, second son of king John and brother of Henry III. He was born in 1209, and had for his arms: Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or, within a bordure sable bezantée. What connection there was between him and the borough of Newcastle in 1235 I have not been able to discover. The three leopards of England on the

<sup>18</sup> An example is at Burlington House (Soc. of Antiquaries), London. For fuller account of "The Borough Seal of Newcastle-under-Lyme," see *N.S.F.C. Trans.*, Vol. LII, pp. 53-64.

centre shield were for king Henry III, who granted the charter to the burgesses, and azure, three garbs or, was the correct coat for Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, who had been lord of the borough from 1215 to 1232. His memory would still be fresh in the minds of the burgesses in 1235, especially as they had to pay 60s. annually to celebrate divine service for the soul of the earl. He was not forgotten.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE BLACKFRIARS PRIORY.

THE middle of the thirteenth century was an important period in the development of the borough of Newcastle, for the charters granted by Henry III opened to the burgesses a way into a new world of municipal experiment and speculation. Until Edmund, earl of Lancaster, interfered with their chartered rights, the inhabitants of the royal borough, founded on ancient demesne, were so remote from the king, their lord of the manor, that he had not the opportunity for overmuch meddling, and was too much occupied with State affairs to trouble himself about the details of government in his distant boroughs. So long as the yearly farm was paid at the stated times the king was quite ready to grant to the burgesses the right of gathering into their own common chest the small sums collected at the borough court. In this way the king had not to pay the salaries of a host of minor officials, and he did not lose any of the fines "nominally levied for the king, but which had a tendency to find their way into the pockets of the town officers or the tax-collectors."<sup>1</sup> If the borough suffered little from State interference, it did not receive help in the way of State aid or State loans. To the medieval burgesses the care and protection of the State were dim and shadowy compared with the duties and responsibilities thrown upon them. Public works were carried out by forced labour of the whole commonalty, and all the activities of their common life were centred in the parish church that stood about half-way between the Gildhall and the castle.

First dependant on Trentham Priory and then under Ranulf de Blundeville on Stoke-upon-Trent, the church of St. Giles, founded in the twelfth century, became the meeting-place where the commonalty transacted all kinds of business, such as auditing the town accounts, dividing up the common lands, electing the mayor and other borough officers, and holding the court.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, Vol. I, p. 232.

Against its walls perhaps were set up the stalls for the sale of bread and meat in the early days before any payment was demanded for toll and stallage. Certainly, in connection with the fair of St. Giles, we may be sure that the church was the centre of the holiday festivities at the beginning of September. At this period we know nothing of the parish priests who served the cure of St. Giles, but as the rector of Stoke took the profits we are fairly safe in assuming that the priest of St. Giles would not be a man of rank or education, and would therefore not have much influence spiritually or intellectually. The monastic ideal was then much in repute, and that factor tended to limit the influence of the parish clergy. Most likely the priest performed his duties in a perfunctory manner, and was no preacher. But to counteract this state of affairs at the time when the inhabitants of Newcastle were trying experiments in town government, they came under an intellectual and spiritual stimulus which must have been a power for good in the lives of all who came within its sphere of influence. The coming of the friars to Newcastle in Henry III's reign meant that henceforth there would be earnest men devoted to pastoral work who led lives of poverty and great sanctity. At first, as Matthew Paris tells us, they busied themselves in preaching, hearing confessions, reciting the divine service, in teaching and study. One of the two most famous orders of friars was that of St. Francis of Assisi, who taught the cult of absolute poverty, and whose example was a literal imitation of Christ's life. The other was founded on similar lines by St. Dominic, who enjoined upon his order of preachers strict poverty, so that every member was to live by labour or alms. In the year in which St. Dominic died, 1221, thirteen friars under the leadership of Prior Gilbert came to England, were well received at Canterbury, and thence journeyed to London and Oxford. At the latter place they built their first English chapel, their house and schools. A few years later the Franciscan friars followed the Dominicans, and they also were cordially welcomed. The friars were so earnest in their work of preaching, curing sickness, and relieving distress, that wherever they went, begging their way, they were well received. Unlike the monks, who lived their life apart, the friars usually settled in the larger towns, where they looked after the sick and became the chief teachers of the poor down to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. In many towns there were convents of both Franciscans and Dominicans, but in Newcastle only the latter, more popularly known as Black Friars, from the colour of the hoods they wore,

built a convent or priory near the Lyme brook after its waters had been utilised to turn the mill-wheels near the Pool Dam. We have no account of their first settlement in Newcastle, but no doubt they had been in the town for some considerable time when Edward I in 1277, from Eccleshall, on Sunday, 12 July, sent 6s. 8d. to the friars preachers at Newcastle-under-Lyme by the hand of Friar Ralph for one day's food within the ensuing week.<sup>2</sup> A similar royal gift was made in 1323, when Edward II arrived at Newcastle-under-Lyme on 5 November. He bestowed an alms of 4s. on the twelve friars through Friar Thomas de Hunstretton, the prior, for one day's food.<sup>3</sup> From this it would seem that there were more friars in Newcastle in Edward I's reign than there were in Edward II's. In 1280 the friars received a windfall of a little more than eight guineas by a bequest from Nicholas de Audley. The king owed Nicholas £8 8s. 6d., and in his will the latter left this sum to the Friars Preachers of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Edward I ordered Adam de Chetwind to pay over the money from the debts which he owed to the king. When the friars complained that Adam had not obeyed the royal mandate, the Sheriff of Staffordshire was ordered to see that the money was paid.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the sheriff carried out his orders, for a writ dated 12 May, 1281, requested the barons of the exchequer to allow the sum to the sheriff, Roger Springehuse, in his accounts.<sup>5</sup> Ten years later the Black Friars benefited by a munificent gift from queen Eleanor.<sup>6</sup> Shortly after Michaelmas her executors gave for the Dominican Convent of Newcastle-under-Lyme 100s. to Fr. William de Hotham, provincial, through Robert de Middleton. In the fourteenth century the priory buildings were enlarged when Henry, duke of Lancaster, was lord of the manor and borough. Between 1351 and 1361 he granted a mortmain licence for the friars to purchase in enlarging their house three burgages and a half and a quarter of a burgage, all lying next their habitation, and held of the duchy by the rent of 3s. 9d. a year, which rent, at the same time, was released to them. This licence and grant the duke's son-in-law, John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, confirmed when he was at Newcastle-under-Lyme, 14 September, 1363, and Henry IV as duke of Lancaster, at

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Garderob. De obl. et elemos., Regis, 5 Edw. I, quoted by Palmer.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. de partic. expens. Garderob. 17 Edw. II, quoted by Palmer.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 26 Nov., 1280, m. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Liberate Rolls*, 9 Edw. I, m. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Garderob. liberat. pro regina, 19-20 Edw. I.

The above references I owe to Mr. Palmer. See note 7, p. 66;

Nottingham Castle, 23 May, 1404, ratified the whole concession and confirmation.<sup>7</sup>

By examining the ordination lists of Bishop Robert de Stretton's register (1360-85), we can to a certain extent estimate the part taken by this religious house in providing clergy during the latter part of the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Of the sixteen friars of the Order of Preachers of Newcastle-under-Lyme who occur in the register, most were ordained sub-deacons, some are in the lists of deacons, and a few in the lists of priests. Friar Henry de Cleve's career illustrates how rapidly the successive grades might be attained. He was ordained sub-deacon in September, 1365, deacon in December of the same year, and priest in June in the year following. We are not sure, when we see that a particular religious was ordained sub-deacon or deacon, whether he was ordained to the house mentioned or on a title given by the house for work elsewhere. In some cases we can be sure. Thomas de Hulton, for instance, was of Hulton Abbey when ordained sub-deacon in Advent, 1360, also when made deacon in Lent, 1361, and when he became a priest at Trinity in the same year. Afterwards, in the same year, he was appointed to the Order of Preachers, Newcastle-under-Lyme. He had been instructed at Hulton Abbey, but was appointed to work with the Dominican friars at Newcastle. A priest might be given a wider range. Friar John de Stoke of the Order of Preachers of the Convent of Newcastle-under-Lyme, received in June, 1361, a penitentiary commission to be exercised for two years in the Archdeaconry of Stafford.<sup>9</sup> A year later the commission was made during the bishop's pleasure.<sup>10</sup>

With its enlargement during the latter half of the fourteenth century, the Priory rose in importance, and the strict rule of the Order was observed. For a time the Master-General of the Order seems to have taken the Black Friars at Newcastle into his own immediate government, for on 12 June, 1390, he appointed Fr. William de Bartleton to be the vicar of the house, and empowered him to gather the devout Brethren of the Observance into it.<sup>11</sup> The Rev. Charles F. R. Palmer explains that towards the end of the fourteenth century, under the threefold scourge of pestilence, schism and lukewarmness, the monastic and especially

<sup>7</sup> Reg. of grants, charters, etc., Duchy of Lanc., Vol. XIV, fol. 23b. For these and most of the facts about the Black Friars of Newcastle, I am indebted to the Rev. Chas. F. R. Palmer's account published in *The Reliquary*, 1877.

<sup>8</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VIII, N.S.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Ex Reg. Mag. Gen. Ord. Romæ Asservato, quoted by Palmer.

the mendicant Orders, became relaxed in government. A religious was allowed to enjoy and administer his own revenues and income under a very mild obedience, in so far as he did not violate the great fundamental principles of monasticism. Thus he could emancipate himself from the common dormitory and have a private cell, provide himself with his own library and furniture, clothing and food, and to a great extent lead a *private life* in the midst of a community. But while religious of this class were in comparative freedom, there were others who maintained the letter of the rule, to have all things in common and lead the *common life*; and they were called the *devout brethren of the observance*.

We know that the Provincial Chapter was celebrated once at least at Newcastle, viz. in 1471, on which occasion Fr. William Edmundson, provincial, decreed the foundation of masses and prayers for Lady Cecily Torbock in the Priory of Chester. She was the widow of Sir William Torbock in the county of Lancaster, and in her will, dated 7 March, 1466, among other bequests she left 6s. 8d. to the Black Friars of Chester, a similar sum to the Grey Friars there, and 3s. 4d. to the White Friars.<sup>12</sup> It was no doubt in consequence of these gifts that prayers were offered for her soul at Chester.

Practically nothing is known of the Priory during the fifteenth century, except that it was befriended by the Lancastrian lords, and thereby gained in importance. Under the first two Tudor sovereigns it seems to have been neglected, for when it was dissolved it was not merely poor, but it was heavily in debt. It is not necessary to detail the various steps taken by Thomas Cromwell whereby he led up to the dissolution of the monasteries. Legal sanction for the spoliation was obtained through the Reformation Parliament (1529-36). At first the friaries were left alone, chiefly because they were poor and were not situated in broad open spaces. But their turn came. The instrument by whom Cromwell carried out the destruction of the friaries was a former prior of a wealthy Black Friars monastery, Richard Ingworth, but in the early part of 1538, when he was commissioned to visit all the friaries he had recently been made Suffragan Bishop of Dover. From his correspondence, the treasury receipts of the exchequer and the inventories of friaries, we have very full particulars of all the Staffordshire religious houses in 1538. The friaries were all poor, and the renegade bishop used this as

<sup>12</sup> Harl. MSS. 2176, fo. 27b, quoted by Palmer.

an argument for inducing the inmates to leave their homes when they did not want to go. The visitor speedily carried out his work in Staffordshire. He was at the house of the Grey Friars at Lichfield on 7 August, on 9 August at the two Stafford houses of the Grey and the Austin Friars, and on the 10th he suppressed the Black Friars priory at Newcastle-under-Lyme. He wrote to Latimer on 23 August and mentioned that he had visited eighteen places, including Lichfield, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, and had left but one house standing.

When Ingworth came to Newcastle on 10 August, the priory buildings were badly in need of repair, and the community was so poor that it had been forced to pledge a great part of its goods, and was still in debt to the amount of £14. The friars signed no formal surrender of their house, but were compelled to abandon it. A modernised version of the mayor's certificate of the surrender explains the position: "Memorandum this xth day of August in the xxxth year of our most dread sovereign Lord King Henry VIIIth, Richard, Bishop of Dover, and visitor under the lord privy seal for the king's grace, was in Newcastle-under-Lyme, whereat in presence of the mayor and his brethren, with the bailiffs and others, the Prior of the friars there with the convent confessed that he without any counsel, coercion, or constraining had given his house into the visitor's hands to the king's use, because they were so poor and not able to keep it: the said Prior there confessed that the convent was in debt to divers persons above the sum of xiii<sup>li</sup> for which all their substance lay in pledge, and yet all not worth the debt; so that no store was in the house but all gone. Wherefore, for very poverty, he was so constrained to give it up; and so he and his convent gave it up. The lord visitor received it and by indenture before the Mayor charged the bailiffs with it till the King's pleasure was further known; and so the visitor paid his own charge, and departed without receiving any penny. These witnesses, the Mayor and his brethren, with divers others.

" RAFFE KELYNGE, Mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

" JOHN LYMFORDE.<sup>13</sup>

" RICHARD SMYTH.<sup>13</sup>

" THOMAS BRODSHA." <sup>14</sup>

The visitor carried off a small chalice, five little spoons, and two narrow bands of masers, weighing altogether 14 ounces, for

<sup>13</sup> These were the bailiffs.

<sup>14</sup> *Rec. Excheq.*, Vol. A, 3-11 Invent. Fri., fol. 55, quoted by Palmer.

the king's use. He did not make his usual sale, which may explain why he did not receive his visitatorial expenses, but delivered over to the bailiffs of the borough the goods and chattels of the convent.

The inventory of the Priory which follows is more valuable than most of such lists, because, as no sale in this case had taken place, we know that the list of goods is fairly complete. The original spelling has been kept, but the abbreviations have been extended :—

“ The black fryers of ye new Castyll vnder lyne.<sup>15</sup>

Thys indenture makyth mencyon of the stuffe off ye black fryers off ye new castyll vnder lyne recevyd by the lord vysytor vnder the lord privey seale for ye Kyng's grace ; ye which is holy delyueryd into ye hands of John lymford and Rychard smyth, baylys there, to saue and order to ye Kyng's vse, till ye Kyng's plesure be further knowen, with ye place and all the purtenancs.

The vestrye.

Item, a shute off blew sylk, pryst, decon and subdecon, with a cope.

Item, a shute off sylke with rosys, prieste, decon and subdecon, lackyng iij amysys, and an albe : a cope off ye same.

Item, a shewte of grene sylke, priest, decon, and subdecon.

Item, a cope, with decon, and subdecon, of yelow sylk, wanting ye prieste ; and iij albis.

Item, an olde cope, with brochys, blew offeras.

Item, another olde cope of clothe of bawakyng.

Item, a chesabull and two tenaculls of bustion.

Item, x olde chesabulls.

Item, a olde sengle vestment of bustyon.

Item, ij olde tenaculls and a olde albe.

Item, a olde surples.

Item, a olde pawle off bawakyn.

Item, a sortt of olde raggs and stols.

Item, ij olde chests, the one lockyd, the other broken.

Item, a corporas with a case.

The quyere [choir].

Item, a peyre off candylstycks off copper.

Item, another off latten.

Item, a crosse off coper and gylte, with Mary and John.

Item, another olde crosse.

Item, ij pore aulter clothys.

<sup>15</sup> *Rec. Excheq.*, Vol. A, 3-11 Invent. Fri., fol. 56.

Item, a steynynd cloth, with frauntlet hangyng before the aulter.

Item, a peyre off organs.

Item, ij bellys in the stepyll.

Item, a feyre tabull of alabaster on ye hye aulter.

Item, a sensar off latten.

Item, a holy water stocke of latten.

The chambers.

Item, ij olde fether bedds, with one olde bolster.

Item, v olde couerletts.

Item, a olde cheste.

Item, a grene coueryng off say.

The Kechyng.

Item, iiij platters, iij dysshys and iij sawsers.

Item, iij brasse potts, on lytyll one off ye iij.

Item, iij brasse pannes.

Item, a fryeng panne.

Item, a peyre of cobbarts.

Item, a lytyll spytte.

The brew howse.

Item, a ledde in a fornes.

Item, ij brewyng fatts.

Item, iij leddes for wortte.

The hall.

Item, ij tabulls, with ij formys, and iiij trestyll.

The buttrye.

Item, a tabull cloth and a towell.

Item, ij basyns off lattyn, with ij ewers to them.

Item, a lytyll pewter basyn.

Item, a candylstycke off latten.

Item, ij tubbes for ale.

Memorandum that thys stuffe before wrytyn, with iij chests with evydens, the one of the Kyng's, ye other of other gentyllmen's, the thredd of the couent's be in ye hands of the Baylys before wryttyn. And therefore it is to be notyd yt ye lord vysytor hathe a lytyll chalys, v lytyll sponys and ij narow bonds of masers to ye Kyng's vse, all weyng xiiij ounces.

By me

Rychard Smyth  
and

John Lymford.

[Endorsed] Staff: black fryers of Newcastle vnder Lyne, Inventory of their goods."

Let us consider Ingworth's own account of what happened at Newcastle. Three days after he had turned the Black Friars out of their home he wrote a letter from Shrewsbury to Cromwell, and the material parts relating to Newcastle are transcribed in full. It is amusing to notice how indignantly he rejects the idea that he could be bribed. He would not take gold from master Broke, who held most of the Priory property on lease, and wanted to keep his profitable investments. Later Ingworth ingenuously betrays himself when he beseeches Cromwell to consider the claims of master John Bothe, a great local builder, to have the slate and shingles from the roof of the buildings. He explains that master Bothe for Cromwell's sake showed him many pleasures and gave him venison. Favours were won from the visitor not by filling his purse but his stomach. "Richard, Bishop of Dover, to Cromwell: <sup>16</sup> My synguler good lord, in my humble maner pleseythe yt yower lordschype to understande, that sythe I wroght to yow from Glosetur I have taken into the Kynges handdes ij conventes in Worsetur, on in Brygenorthe, on in Atherston, and on in Lecheyfild, of the whyche I wroght to yower lordschype by yower servant Holt from Lecheyfylde. Sythe I have taken into the Kynges handdes ij conventes in Stafforde, on in Newcastell Under lyne, and ij in Schrewysbery, and ther on standeytht styl. . . . The Black Fryeres in Newe Castell Underlyne, all in ruyne, and a pore howse, the quere ledeyd and the cloeyster led redy to fall downe, the rest slate and schyngyll ; in fermys by yere xls. On master Broke hathe of late fownde the menys with the prior to gett of hym the more parte of they howseys and grownde thereby iij leseys, and that for lytyll money ; he wolde a gyve me golde to a grantteyd to hys leseys, but I took no peny of hym nor of non other, nor non woll. Yff he have thoys leseys, ther ys lytyll besyde, for he hathe lyberte allmost in all. Ther ys a proper wode, but he hathe all in lese. No sylver above xiiij ounce. . . . Also besechyng yower lordschype, that yf before my cumyng ther be any order taken for Newcastell Under lyne, that ye wolde be good lorde to on master Johan Bothe, a servant of the Kynges graces, the whyche ys a grett bylder in theys partes, that he myght for money have the slate and schyngyll ther ; for ther ys no other to be don with the more parte of that howse, but save the lede and slate and take the profete of the grownde. That master Bothe for yower sake schewyd me many plesures, and gave me venyson ; wherefor I may no lesse

<sup>16</sup> From MS. Cotton Cleop. E. IV, fol. 248 : Camden Soc., 1843, p. 203.

do but wryght to yower lordeschype besecheynge yow to be good lorde to hym, an I ever yower orator to Jhesu, who preserve yower lordschype. Thys xiiijth day of August. From Schrewysbery. By yower bedeman and servantt.—Richard Dovorenc.”

The one thing of value at this Priory, besides the actual land, was the lead on the roofs of the choir and the cloister. At the sale a few weeks after the visitation the goods were sold for 71s. 2d., the materials of superfluous buildings for £7 6s. 8d., and small pieces of lead, which had been purloined and melted but afterwards brought back, for 12s. 4d.

There remained two bells, weighing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cwt., valued at 16s. the cwt., and the lead of the chancel and part of the cloister, valued at £30.<sup>17</sup> This estimate was based on the assumption that the lead would weigh nine foddors at 66s. 8d. a fodder. It was very much underestimated, for on 16 June, 1542, John Scudamore, Receiver General unto the King's Majesty of the dissolved possessions, paid 31s. 4d. for melting and casting thirteen foddors, 8 cwt. 3 qrs., at Newcastle-under-Lyme Priory.<sup>18</sup> When the religious community was dispersed the house was occupied by John Smith, valet of the king's guard, and by Henry Broke, at the yearly rent of 13s. 4d. The remaining lands were let to various tenants at 32s. 1d. a year. John Smith's grant of the Black Friars' property and other church possessions elsewhere, in consideration of his good, true, and faithful services, was for his life and that of Richard his son without payment of rent, and was dated 4 May, 1540. The Black Friars' property then consisted of:—

The house and site.

A hall called Kyngesley Hall, within the site, stable and kitchen adjoining the same, with all other buildings, stables, barns, gardens, orchards, land and soil within the site.

A chamber called “le Newe Chambre,” with all buildings above and below, in the occupation of Henry Broke, the herbage of a wood called the Fryerswode, and a meadow called the Fryersmedowe, with other plots of land in the tenure of Broke.

A tenement with gardens let to Thomas Byrkes.

A tenement with gardens let to Ellen Browne, widow.

Barn and garden let to Ralph Harryson.

<sup>17</sup> Min. Accts., 30-31 Hen. VIII, No. 100.

<sup>18</sup> B.M., Add. MSS., Cod. 11057, fol. 136b. (These references are from Palmer.)

The interest and term of years which the king had in a tenement in the lower street of Newcastle, in the occupation of Richard Brette, and belonging to the late House of Friar-Preachers.

All these, together with the late possessions of the Priories of Trentham and Hulton, were of the clear annual value of £5 16s. 7d.<sup>19</sup>

Although John Leland about the year 1541 wrote: "There was a House of Blak Freres yn the South side of the Toune" (Newcastle-under-Lyme), its exact situation was not known until the present Smithfield was constructed in 1870-71. Then the foundations of the buildings were discovered at the southern end of Friars Street, in the angle of ground formed by Goose Street and Blackfriars Road. The masonry of the foundations was about 3 feet thick. Various specimens of jambs, mullions, and window tracery were found, but very little interest was taken at the time in the relics laid bare, and now many feet of earth cover the remains.

In 1881, when a trench was being dug at the north-western part of the Smithfield for drainage purposes, several skeletons were unearthed and a large sepulchral slab was taken out. After many vicissitudes, it has found a resting-place in the churchyard of St. Giles. It is formed of millstone grit, about 6 ft. 3 ins. in length, rather more than 3 ft. in width at the top, and about 2½ ft. at the base, in thickness nearly 6 ins. An incised line divides the stone into two equal parts, and on each side has been cut a pediment at the base, then a long straight central line leading up to and terminating in a perfect circle near the top, the symbol of the eternal life.

In the late Mr. Snape's possession were a key found on the site of the Priory and a small collection of black money, "jettons," introduced by the monks for computation purposes into England. The latter were found when a tenement in Lower Street, near the site of the Priory, was pulled down many years ago. The only place-names which preserve the memory of the Priory are Friars Street, Friarswood Road, Blackfriars Road, and the Friars' Wood. The latter, much reduced in size, seems doomed under a modern scheme of building and road construction.

<sup>19</sup> Misc. Books Court Augm., Vol. CCXXXV., fol. 15. (Quoted by Palmer.)

## CHAPTER X.

### NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

WE know very little about the castle and borough during the reign of Edward II, when Thomas, son of earl Edmund, was lord of the manor, having succeeded to the Lancastrian possessions and titles on his father's death, 5 June, 1296. He was the intermediary through whom the burgesses obtained the chartered right of enforcing a particular local tax. When a borough community was entrusted with the farm of tolls, it was tempted to impose a stringent and protective tariff: its ideal of a perfectly "free" trade was an unlimited power to tax other people.<sup>1</sup> As the Newcastle charters did not give to the burgesses the right of imposing local taxes, they had to apply to the king for a grant of pavage, which meant the right of charging a toll upon all wares brought for sale in Newcastle. The king would be inclined to grant such a privilege at a price, because it would not be likely to lessen his fee-farm rent. The rent instead might be paid more promptly, as pavage was a tax on "foreigners," not on burgesses. The first grant of pavage was in 1302, for a period of five years.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the period a further grant for two years was made.<sup>3</sup> In 1309, when the burgesses might reasonably expect their lord to interest himself once more on their behalf, he was not in a position to ask for royal favours.

#### THOMAS, EARL OF LANCASTER.

Thomas was one of the bitter opponents of Gaveston, the king's minister, and the barons were powerful enough in 1310 to do what their predecessors had done in Henry III's reign fifty-two years before. The powers of the Crown were put into commission under the guidance of lords ordainers. In the following year, when the earl of Lincoln died, his son-in-law, Thomas, who

<sup>1</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, Vol. I, p. 664.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-7, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 16.

in his own right was possessed of the three earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, received in addition his father-in-law's two earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. By reason of his position and possessions, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was the most powerful baron in England, but he made no good use of his advantages. He was of limited ability, of ungovernable passions, with very little patriotism and no breadth of view. After the baronial confederacy had been broken up by the treacherous murder of Gaveston, near Kenilworth, in the earl of Lancaster's fee, peace in 1312 was patched up between the king and the earls. The disastrous battle of Bannockburn in 1314 once more brought the earl of Lancaster into prominence, but his incompetency caused factions among the barons, one of whom, Warrene, gave active help to Alice Lacy, countess of Lancaster, when she ran away from her husband, 9 May, 1317. Intermittent hostilities were ended some time after Bruce had captured Berwick in April, 1318. The treaty of peace between the earl of Lancaster and the king was signed 9 August at Leake, where the earl accepted the conditions drawn up for him. In the following October the parliament at York confirmed the treaty of Leake. For a time there was comparative peace until 1321, when the barons attacked the Despencers, who were causing trouble in Wales. The king was compelled to banish his favourites, but soon he took his revenge upon the lords of the marches in the west, while the earl of Lancaster remained inactive in the north. After vainly besieging Tickhill Castle in Yorkshire, the earl moved south and occupied Burton-on-Trent in March, 1322, but the king, with his victorious army, came upon him, and he fled to Tutbury Castle, and then to the north. So hasty was the earl's flight from Tutbury that he lost an enormous amount of treasure as he forded the river Dove, and there it remained undisturbed until June, 1331, when most of it was recovered, first by workmen engaged in making alterations to the river's flow for a mill-wheel, and then by searchers authorised by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The earl of Lancaster's northward march was stopped at the river Ure, at Boroughbridge, in the county of York, where he surrendered and was executed for treason at Pontefract Castle, 22 March.

The burgesses of Newcastle lost no time in petitioning for another grant of pavage, which was sanctioned 20 May, 1322, at York for two years.<sup>4</sup> There had been riotous times in the borough

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, p. 113.

caused by rival factions taking advantage of the national disorder. In 1320, Joan, late the wife of Nicholas de Audley, complained that certain men broke into her park at Heleigh, co. Stafford, and assaulted her men at Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>5</sup>

In the same year Roger, son of Roger de Swynnerton, complained that Peter de Lymesy, Thomas Tooth, Thomas de Grenewey, and Roger de Greneweie, with others, assaulted him at the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>6</sup> The market days at Newcastle would always be animated, but those in 1320 were much too lively according to the jury of that town. Here is a bare catalogue of their presentment<sup>7</sup> at Michaelmas, 1323: That Thomas de Warwyk, formerly Clerk of the countess of Heleigh,<sup>8</sup> like a common malefactor, in full market of Newcastle-under-Lyme, in 13 Edward II, insulted Roger, son of Roger de Swynnerton, and beat and maltreated him. And that Richard, son of Adam le Hirdeman, Richard de Childerplawe, Richard de Swynnerton, and William son of William, the smith of Chelle, at Newcastle on a market day, in 13 Edward II, beat and wounded the said Thomas de Warewyk almost to death. And that Henry, the clerk of the countess of Heleigh, Henry le Peleter, and John de Iselwalle at Newcastle, on a market day in 13 Edward II, came like common malefactors and beat and wounded Agnes, the wife of Robert del Bakhous, and Adam son of Adam de Lanton, etc. And that Adam Deneys of Congleton, of Co. Chester, came armed with many unknown men to the number of 500 to Newcastle on the Feast of St. Gregory, 15 Edward II, and took the goods and chattels of William de Snethe, viz. linen and woollen cloth worth 10s. and 20s. in money, five quarters of oats worth 15s., and other victuals and goods worth 20s., and that Ralph de Fouleshurst was of the retinue of the said Adam, and took from Stephen Bonetable of Newcastle a brass pot worth 10s., etc. No wonder the king reserved to himself the fines in pleas of week-end bloodshed at Newcastle-under-Lyme!

It seems that the most active local supporters of the ill-fated earl of Lancaster at Burton Bridge in 1322 came from Knutton district. Ralph del Shawe, Elias Ireto, Thomas son of Richard, William son of Richard, Nicholas son of Robert, William le Grobber, were all from the vill of Knutton, while Stephen son of Robert de Dymesdale, William son of Stephen le Brown of Wolstanton, and Nicholas Colmare of Wolstanton, came from the

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, p. 478.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1317-21, p. 484.

<sup>8</sup> Dowager Countess of Lincoln.

<sup>7</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

immediate vicinity. For assisting the earl these and others were fined sums varying from forty pence to one mark, and found sureties for their future good behaviour.<sup>9</sup> At Tutbury, 12 December, 1323, among various presentments<sup>10</sup> which showed that much looting took place after the earl of Lancaster had fled from Tutbury Castle, and before the king had got there, John de Kynardesle and two others were charged with conveying from the Castle to the Priory of Tutbury £1,500 in three barrels bound with iron. John de Kynardesle, who was prebendary of Eccleshall, attached to Lichfield Cathedral, said he had taken the barrels to keep them safe, and had none of the money. A domestic cartulary relating to places near Whitmore in the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme compiled in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, indicates that this John de Kynardesle was also rector of Stoke-on-Trent.<sup>11</sup>

#### CHANTRY AT NEWCASTLE.

In the rector's chapel of ease, the church of St. Giles at Newcastle, the first chantry, an altar endowed for the purpose of having mass sung for the repose of the soul of the founder, was established in 1318. William son of Thomas of Newcastle-under-Lyme, wanted to assign 5 messuages and 13s. 4d. of rent in the town to a certain chaplain to perform divine service for the soul of the same William and all his ancestors in the chapel of St. Katherine of Newcastle-under-Lyme every day. Therefore an enquiry was held, 28 July, 1317, by the oath of Thomas Muriel, Robert le Got, William de Bromley, Stephen Austeyn, John Lycoris, Thomas de Knotton, Henry de Boterton, John de Poddemor, Henry Prior, William de Snede, John de Knotton, and Roger son of William, who said that no damage would result if the gift were made; that the 5 acres are worth 53s. 4d., and that William holds a messuage and rent of the earl of Lancaster by the service of 12d.; that the said earl is mesne between the king and William for the messuage and rent; that the lands and tenements will remain to the same William son of Thomas beyond the said donation and assignment, which are worth yearly 100s.; that they are holden of the earl of Lancaster, and the county will not be burdened.<sup>12</sup> As a result of the enquiry, on 16 August, 1318, William son of Thomas of Newcastle-under-Lyme, by

<sup>9</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1913, pp. 230-1,

<sup>10</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. IX, p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 339.

paying a fine of 5 marks, received a licence to alienate the messuages and rent for the support of daily service in the chantry chapel of St. Katherine within the church of St. Giles.<sup>13</sup>

#### WAR TAXATION.

Thirty years before, when a general valuation of church property took place in consequence of a grant by Pope Nicholas IV of a tenth of the incomes of the clergy for six years to king Edward I for his Scotch wars, Staffordshire contained five deaneries, of which one was named after Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>14</sup> It contained, besides several monasteries, the parishes of Audley, Biddulph, Madeley, Maer, Muckleston, Stoke (with chapels), Trentham, and Wolstanton (with chapels). The total value of incomes to be taxed in this deanery was £128 6s. 8d., of which sum Stoke, with its chapels (including Newcastle), accounted for 60 marks or £40. Next in value came Wolstanton with its chapels, £26 13s. 4d. A re-valuation of some of the churches was made by local jurors in 1341, owing to a grant of the ninth sheaf, lamb and fleece, and in towns of moveable goods, for two years to the king for his French wars. In nearly every case the jurors presented that the assessment of the churches in 1291 was too high. The jury of the parish of Stoke, Ralph Burgullon, John de Blorton, Roger de Cokenage, Ralph de Swanuld, William de Grey, Richard Legou, William de Swinnerton, and John Pollard, present that the ninth of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs is worth 35 marks, 3s. 4d., and no more; and so they say that the aforesaid ninth does not reach to the taxation of the church (60 marks in 1291), because the borough of Newcastle is in the aforesaid parish; and the burgesses do not hold in demesne except 40 acres of land and the tithes of the mills, the Lent and other offerings are worth £20, and they say that the parson of the aforesaid church holds of endowment of the church one carucate of land, and it is worth per annum xls. Also he holds 20 acres of meadow land worth per annum 40s. Also, he has 40s. of annual rent of the endowment of the aforesaid church; and the tithes of the mills, the Lent and other offerings of the mother church of Stoke are worth per annum £10 by estimation. They also say that the Prior of Stone holds one carucate of land in the aforesaid parish whence the ninth is worth this year 5s.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, p. 197.

<sup>14</sup> *Tax. Eccl.*, circa 1291 (Rec. Comm.), 242b, etc.

<sup>15</sup> *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Comm.), p. 128.

In regard to the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Jordan de Lavenden, Ralph Swaneld, Richard Lagowe, William le Grey, Henry Bryan, Henry Kene, John Pollard, William le Somonour, Richard son of Robert, Richard le Glover, Ralph Lycoris, and Philip de Erlyde, the jurors, presented that the men of the said borough have moveable goods, whereof the true value of all such moveable goods (excepting of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs for which they pay their ninth out of the borough) amounts to five marks and two shillings, and no more; and the cause thereof is because the better sort of people of the borough and the greater part of the men thereof live by agriculture and fleeces and lambs, for which they pay to the ninth outside the borough aforesaid. Also, the reason is that the commonalty of the whole borough is brought to nothing and reduced to poverty.<sup>16</sup> It was to the interest of the Newcastle jurors to put their assessment as low as possible, and this they seem to have done when we come to consider two other assessments of this period. In 1327 a subsidy of one-twentieth part of all moveable goods was granted by king Edward III's first parliament to meet the expenses of the Scotch war.<sup>17</sup> The collectors were commissioned to summon before them the most loyal and best men of each vill, from whom they were to elect four, six, or more if desirable. Then these men were to assess truly all those who had goods of the gross value of more than ten shillings. The twentieths paid by the fifty people of Newcastle-under-Lyme who were taxed<sup>18</sup> amounted to £5 12s. 10½d., so one-ninth assessed on the same people would have amounted to £12 10s. 10d. The second subsidy roll of Staffordshire, dated 1332-33, is the fullest of all. Like its predecessor, this subsidy was granted by parliament for the expenses of the Scotch war, and consisted of a tenth of all goods in cities, boroughs, etc. The commissioners were to summon local assessors as before, who were to be sworn on the Holy Evangelists to give a true and full account of all the goods that each inhabitant of the vill held on a particular day, both in and out of their houses, and to tax them fairly according to their true value, but the goods of the inhabitants of cities, boroughs, or king's demesnes which did not exceed six shillings in gross value were to be excepted. The tenths paid by the fifty-five people of Newcastle-under-Lyme, who were taxed in 1333, amounted to £10 13s. 4d.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Comm.), p. 131.

<sup>17</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VII, pp. 205-6.

<sup>18</sup> For full list, see *S.H.C.*, Vol. VII, pp. 205-6.

<sup>19</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. X, pp. 81-2.

Thus the ninths from the same people would amount to practically £11 6s. It hardly seems probable that in the interval between 1333 and 1341 the value of the ninths of moveable goods would fall as low as £3 8s. 8d.

#### ROYAL GRANTS.

When we consider what royal grants were made to the people of Newcastle-under-Lyme in the interval, we should expect them to be more and not less prosperous. In 1334 a pavage tax for three years was granted to the bailiffs and good men of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>20</sup> They had similar grants in 1356 and 1359. The grant of pavage in 1334 was followed in 1336 by a grant of special grace to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme of a yearly fair there on the Tuesday after the octave of Easter.<sup>21</sup> Then in 1337 the bailiffs and good men of Newcastle-under-Lyme received for five years a grant of pontage, the right of raising taxes to repair their bridge.<sup>22</sup> All these royal grants would be of considerable financial benefit to the burgesses of Newcastle, so we must accept with caution the local jurors' estimate of the value of moveable goods within the borough in 1341. Let us see what the moveable goods of the 1341 Newcastle jurors were worth in 1327 and 1333, according to local assessors who were perhaps better supervised than those in 1341. Of the twelve Newcastle jurors in 1341, eight contributed to the subsidy of 1327. The twentieth parts of moveable goods were respectively: Jordan de Lavenden, 4s.; Ralph Swanild, 3s.; Richard Lagou, 2s.; William le Gray, 6s.; William le Somonour, 3s. 4d.; Richard, son of Robert, 1s.; Richard le Glover, 1s.; Ralph Lycoris, 1s. 6d.—so the total value of the moveable goods of these eight men in 1327 was £21 16s. 8d. In 1333 the subsidy granted by parliament was a tenth of moveable goods, and again eight of the 1341 Newcastle jurors contributed. The tenth parts were as follow: Jordan de Lavenden, 5s. 6d.; Ralph Swanild, 6s.; Richard Lagou, 6s. 8d.; William le Grey, 10s.; Henry Bryan, 6s. 6d.; Henry Kene, 6s. 6½d.; William le Somonour, 12s. 6½d.; Richard le Glover, 3s. According to the taxes paid, the total value of their moveable goods would amount to £28 7s. 1d. Of the six men who paid their contributions to both subsidies, the value of the moveable goods of Jordan de

<sup>20</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1330-34, p. 511.

<sup>21</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, IV, 1327-41, p. 359. The terms of this lost charter are recited in the preamble of Queen Elizabeth's charter to Newcastle in 1590.

<sup>22</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 391.

[illegible]



Lavenden and William le Grey had decreased, that of Ralph Swanild had remained the same, but the value in the case of Richard Lagou, Richard le Glover, and William le Somonour had increased, especially for the last-named. These figures afford good evidence that the burgesses of Newcastle were not so poor in 1341 as their local valuers endeavoured to make out.

#### INSPEXIMUS CHARTERS OF 1344 AND 1372.

Although renewals and confirmations of royal charters were often made at the beginning of a new reign, it was not until 1 February, 1344, that the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme secured an *inspeximus*<sup>23</sup> of its charter of the Gild Merchant granted in 1235. It was made at the request of the burgesses of Newcastle, for on the margin of the Patent Rolls is written, "Pro Burgensibus de Novo Castro subtus Lymam de exemplo." Twenty-eight years later an *inspeximus* of the same charter, and by the same king (Edward III), was granted to the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>24</sup> Why did the Newcastle burgesses pay good money to the same king to have one charter confirmed twice? The explanation of this comes from Preston, created a daughter borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1179. When Mr. Jeayes, of the British Museum, in 1910, was setting in order the Preston charters, among their muniments he found the Newcastle *inspeximus* charter of 1344 described as a Preston charter of 1328. Confusion had arisen about it, because nearly half of the charter—the right-hand half—was missing, and it was only by comparing the original with the copy set out in the Patent Rolls that Mr. Jeayes was able to solve the puzzle. On his recommendation, the Preston authorities restored to Newcastle their long-lost charter. Most likely some time after 1344 the Preston burgesses applied to the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme to know what were its chartered rights and privileges. At the time of this application Henry II's charter to Newcastle, and also most likely Henry III's grant of the Gild Merchant had been lost, so the confirmation charter of 1344 was lent to the Preston burgesses, who kept it for five and a half centuries. In these circumstances it was very important for the Newcastle burgesses to secure the *inspeximus* charter of 1372.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, p. 195.

<sup>24</sup> 18 July, 1372. Original at Newcastle.

<sup>25</sup> For Mr. Jeayes' report, see *Preston Guardian*, 23 July, 1910.

## THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER AND NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

When the borough of Newcastle applied for the renewal of their charter in 1344, Alice, daughter of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and widow of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, was the lady of the manor of Newcastle. Less than four months after her husband's execution for treason, Alice received for life by royal grant many of his estates, including in the county of Stafford the manor and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, the towns of Penkhull, Sheprugge, Wolstanton, Clayton, and Caldon.<sup>26</sup> She died without issue in 1348, and her nephew, Henry, became lord of the manor and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme. He was the son of Henry, third earl of Lancaster, and brother of Thomas, the second earl. When his brother's attainder was reversed in 1327, at the beginning of Edward III's reign, Henry, the third earl, succeeded to the principal estates of the earldom, including the castle and honor of Tutbury and the castle and honor of Leicester, but not the castle and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme. As he died in 1345, he never became the lord of the manor of Newcastle. His son Henry, the fourth earl, was created earl of Derby in his father's lifetime, and after succeeding to his aunt's possessions in 1348, he was created duke of Lancaster, 6 March, 1351. Much of his time when he was lord of Newcastle was spent abroad in fighting in the French wars. He died of the plague at Leicester, 13 March, 1361, leaving by his wife Isabella two daughters only, the eldest of whom, Matilda or Maud, was first married to Ralph, son and heir of Ralph Lord Stafford, and secondly to William, count of Hainault and Zealand and duke of Bavaria, but died 10 April, 1362, also of the plague, without issue. An agreement was made whereby the earl of Lancaster's estates were partitioned between his two daughters, and included in Maud's share were the castle and manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with its members. A yearly rent charge of £86 13s. 4d. was to be taken out of the revenues of Newcastle during the life of a certain Robert Bertram,<sup>27</sup> as this was the sum to be paid to him from another manor held by the earl of Lancaster's younger daughter, Blanche, who was married to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond. During the year in which the lady Maud held Newcastle-under-Lyme, she leased to Sir Godfrey Foljambe the castle, manor, and town of Newcastle, with all hamlets and

<sup>26</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24*, p. 183.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68*, pp. 165, 166.

demesnes, rents, services, meadows, pastures, fisheries, etc., except fees, advowsons and great oaks, he rendering yearly £127 of silver, maintaining the houses and buildings, and committing no waste except trees for the repair of the castle and houses, to be taken with the assent of the lessor or her heirs, or their chief stewards, and he was not to lease his estate to any other. If the issues did not amount to the sum contained in the lease, £7 should be pardoned for that time, or if the tenants of castle, manor, and town disputed their farm of the mills of the manor, he should have allowance. After Maud's death, when her great estates passed into the hands of her sister Blanche, this lease was confirmed on 14 May, 1362,<sup>28</sup> by Blanche's husband, John of Gaunt, the king's fourth son, earl of Lancaster (in right of his wife), earl of Richmond, Derby, and Lincoln, and steward of England. In November of the same year, when John of Gaunt was twenty-two years of age and had been married to Blanche of Lancaster for three years, the king created him duke of Lancaster, and formally invested him with the duchy by girding him with the sword and setting the cap upon his head. His first marriage made the duke a feudal magnate, and shaped the next dozen years of his history. During this period Blanche died, and in the same year, 1369, the continuous extant records of the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme begin.

<sup>28</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 202.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.<sup>1</sup>

IN the middle of the fourteenth century the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme began to send burgesses to Parliament. Stafford sent representatives from 1295. Lichfield sent them intermittently from the time of bishop Walter de Langton in 1311 to 1327, and again in 1353, but then no more burgesses went from Lichfield for 200 years. It may seem strange that Newcastle was not represented in parliament before 1354, but the burgesses were no doubt glad enough to be quit of a doubtful privilege. They did not want to pay representatives to attend a parliament in whose proceedings they probably took very little interest. The fact that Newcastle began to send members in the fourteenth century was no doubt due to the influence of the duke of Lancaster's agent, Sir John Musard of Miserden, Gloucestershire.

As sub-sheriff and deputy for Henry, duke of Lancaster, he returned the two members for the county of Stafford for the parliament in the early part of the year 1352. He also returned the one county member for the parliament summoned for August in the same year. There were no members from the boroughs of county Stafford in either of these parliaments. In the parliament summoned to meet 23 September, and dissolved 12 October, 1353, one knight was returned from the shire, two burgesses from Stafford, and two from Lichfield.

In the parliament summoned for the early part of 1354, the county and the boroughs of Stafford and Newcastle (instead of Lichfield) sent two members each. Sir John Musard, whose connection with Staffordshire arose from his being made sub-sheriff to the duke of Lancaster, the titular sheriff from 1351 to 1361 returned himself as one of the two county members, and he called his lord's borough of Newcastle into a parliamentary existence. As was usual at that date, the early representatives of Newcastle

<sup>1</sup> See the "Parliamentary History of Staffordshire," by Col. J. C. Wedgwood (*S.H.C.*, 1917-18, *passim*), for most of this chapter. In this chapter "member of parliament" has been frequently used for convenience, though "burgess" was of course the contemporary official designation of the representative of a borough.

were burgesses. The two elected in 1354 were John Lagowe and Richard son of Jordan de Lavendon. John Lagowe was summoned as a rioter in 1347,<sup>2</sup> and in 1348 received at farm for twenty years from William de Bromelay of Bucknall a messuage and a *placca* of land called the Oldefeld.<sup>3</sup> His father may have been either John Lagou, who according to the Fenton MSS. was bailiff in 1358, or Richard Lagou, who was one of the two town bailiffs in 1325-26, was assessed for a twentieth in 1327 at two shillings, and in 1333 for a tenth at six shillings and eightpence. He also served on the inquiry about Thomas, earl of Lancaster's, rights in Newcastle, and was one of the jurors who assessed the ninth in 1341.<sup>4</sup>

The Lavendens or Lavendons were an old-established Newcastle family in the fourteenth century. Adam de Lavendon witnessed most of the Trentham charters during the period 1244-74, and in one of them he is styled Constable of Newcastle.<sup>5</sup> Richard de Lavendon occurs as the prior of Trentham in 1299 and 1301.<sup>6</sup> Jordan de Lavendon, who was the mayor of Newcastle in 1325,<sup>7</sup> occurs as a witness in 1318<sup>8</sup> and 1333:<sup>9</sup> in 1327 he was assessed at four shillings, and in 1333 at five shillings and sixpence. His was the first name in the list of jurors for the ninth of 1341. His son Richard was M.P. for Newcastle not only in 1354, but also in 1363, 1369, and 1371, and in the last year he was also Mayor of Newcastle. The two Newcastle members of parliament in 1355, John de Blorton (Blurton) and Richard de Podmore, took their surnames from villages in the parishes of Trentham and of Eccleshall respectively. The former was perhaps the son of Stephen de Blorton, assessed for twelve pence in 1327 as a Newcastle burgess, and for three shillings in 1333, or of Thomas de Blurton, who married Margaret (? daughter of Geoffrey de Bagnall) before 1341.<sup>10</sup> The father bought land at Trentham in 1329,<sup>11</sup> and he and his wife had a mill at Longton, 1341-56.<sup>12</sup> Thomas de Blurton was a frequent witness at Newcastle and Trentham during the period 1330-42. Another Thomas Blurton was a bailiff of Newcastle 1378-79. The Podmores had a long parliamentary connection with Newcastle. Richard de Podmore was a member in 1355, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1365, and 1366. He was one of the four sureties for John de Birches, the vicar of Madeley,

<sup>2</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIV, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Ward, *Stoke*, XXV, Appendix, p. liv.

<sup>5</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 320.

<sup>7</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1913, p. 233.

<sup>9</sup> *S.H.C.*, VII, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1913, p. 248.

<sup>6</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 325.

<sup>8</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 331.

<sup>10</sup> *S.H.C.*, XII, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> *S.H.C.*, XII, N.S., p. 59.

in 1360.<sup>13</sup> For some unrecorded reason in 1365 Richard, Thomas, Ralph, and William de Podmore, Richard de Rowley, Hugh le Bowier, John del Knol, and other Newcastle people, were granted protection for one year.<sup>14</sup>

Thomas de Podmore, who represented Newcastle in 1377, 1378, 1381-82, 1383, and 1399, may have been his son. He was elected mayor of Newcastle when he was representing the borough in parliament in October, 1378. Twenty years later he was mayor again, and in 1389 and in 1396 his is the first name on the *prima duodena* of the Merchant Gild. He was guardian of an infant Lagowe in 1397,<sup>15</sup> and was dead in 1411, when his widow, Isabel, was suing Ralph Podmore for aggravated assault.<sup>16</sup>

William de Homersleye, who was one of the Newcastle members in 1358, introduces us to a new type of representative. He was not a burgess of Newcastle, but came from Stafford, which borough he represented in parliament in 1355. This is the first case of a member for a Staffordshire borough changing his seat. In 1344, William de Homersleye appeared as a surety in Cheddleton, the place where the family he founded held land for 200 years afterwards. He was attorney at Cheddleton and at Newcastle from 1348 to 1354 for Ralph, earl of Stafford, and this would account for his representation of Stafford in 1355. He was a Royal Commissioner to enquire into the export of wool in 1354, and he was still in the retinue of the earl of Stafford when he went to Ireland in 1371. The name of Hamersley may be derived from Ombersley, in the county of Worcester, but it has become naturalised in the pottery district since the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

William Gent and Richard de Colclough were the Newcastle representatives in 1360. William Gent, in 1356, had a licence to acquire from the duchy of Lancaster 50 acres in Wolstanton, for which he paid 6d. per acre per annum, the full value of the land.<sup>18</sup> Richard Gent of Newcastle-under-Lyme, described as king's clerk, who in 1361 had a life grant of the wardenship of the hospital of St. Leonard, Derby, may have been his brother.<sup>19</sup> In 1363, Cecilia, widow of William Gent, was married to William de Podmore.<sup>20</sup>

Richard de Colclough, M.P. in 1360, acquired the manor of

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 95.

<sup>14</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-67, p. 172.

<sup>15</sup> *S.H.C.*, XV, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1917-18, p. 99.

<sup>19</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 79.

<sup>16</sup> *S.H.C.*, XVI, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, p. 458.

<sup>20</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIII, p. 37.

Hanley from Sir Richard de Peshale, who had bought it from Nicholas de Kynnardsley. The heir of Kynnersley disputed Richard de Colclough's title in 1371,<sup>21</sup> but unsuccessfully, because in 1392<sup>22</sup> John de Colclough was sued for dower in Hanley by the widow of Sir Richard de Peshale. Richard de Colclough was one of the Newcastle bailiffs in 1373-74, and two years later he was elected mayor of the borough. He was dead in 1385 when John, his son and heir, was suing for his father's debts.<sup>23</sup> This same John de Colclough, along with William Colclough, was a member for Newcastle in the second parliament summoned in 1384. His wife's name was Margery, and they had a son named John. The father was one of the borough bailiffs in 1377, and was mayor in 1384, 1386, 1388, 1389, 1394, 1400, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1406, 1408, and 1410. Both father and son were summoned for a debt of £20 in 1420.<sup>24</sup> William Colclough, who was first elected for Newcastle in 1372, represented the borough at intervals for a quarter of a century, being one of the members in 1384, 1385, 1386, 1390, 1395, and 1397. He was probably William Colclough of Calverhall, Salop, who was dead in 1415, when John Colclough of Newcastle was his executor.<sup>25</sup> He was attorney for John Colclough, the lord of Hanley, in 1393, escheator for Salop in 1407, and occurs in connection with Clayton in 1411. The family name is derived from Colclough in Tunstall. Near by, at Little Chell land was owned in 1411 by Hugh Colclough,<sup>26</sup> parliamentary representative for Newcastle in 1407 and a retainer of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, being paid 4d. a day for life. We learn from Robert Fenton's MSS. that Thomas de Wodhull, who was one of the Newcastle members in 1362, 1365, 1366, and 1373, was the mayor of Newcastle in 1358. According to the order of 17 November, 1362, to the bailiffs of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme to collect from the commonalty £8 4s. in payment of 41 days' expenses for their parliamentary representatives, both Richard de Podmore and Thomas de Wodhull were the members representing Newcastle.<sup>27</sup> John de Lylsull, in 1363, was also a Newcastle parliamentary representative. He was security for a bailiff in 1371 and 1372, and was himself elected one of the bailiffs in 1375. In the same year he, along with Nicholas de Chamber, rented the mill for four years. William de Lylleshull was a witness to many Trentham charters in the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>28</sup> and

<sup>21</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIII, pp. 87, 91, 99.

<sup>23</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIII, p. 192.

<sup>25</sup> *S.H.C.*, XVII, p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 441.

<sup>22</sup> *S.H.C.*, XV, p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> *S.H.C.*, XVII, p. 71.

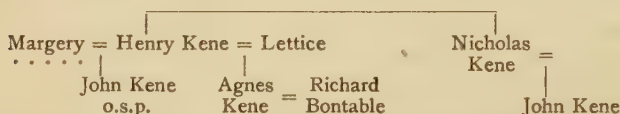
<sup>26</sup> *S.H.C.*, XVI, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, pp. 310-24.

Thomas de Lylleshull was a burgess in 1327 and 1333. Roger Letys, the first of the officially recorded mayors of Newcastle, was a member of parliament for the borough in 1369 and 1371. For four years in succession, viz. 1367, 1368, 1369, and 1370, he was mayor, and he was one of the *prima duodena* of the Merchant Gild in 1389 and 1396.

The parliament which met in the autumn of 1372 made request that no sheriff or mayor might sit in parliament during his term of office. Edmund Toly, one of the members in 1372, was probably not a Newcastle burgess. Most likely he can be identified as the attorney for Sir John Gresley in 1382, because the latter was the sheriff of Staffordshire and M.P. for the county in 1372.<sup>29</sup>

Roger del Castell, a member in 1373, was a Newcastle burgess; in 1383 he was one of the wardens of the assize of bread and beer. John de Castel held a similar office in 1375 and in 1385. Richard Bontable, member of parliament for Newcastle in 1377, was elected mayor of the borough in 1375, and was on the Merchant Gild lists of the *prima duodena* in 1389 and 1396. The following genealogical table is given in a Plea Roll<sup>30</sup> of 1363:—



Richard Bontable appears to have married a second time, for in 1403 John Biddulph and Margery his wife, widow of Richard Bontable, were sued for the latter's debts.<sup>31</sup> John Kene, member of parliament for Newcastle in 1380 and 1388, was the son of Nicholas Kene. He was bailiff in 1372 and 1373, was one of the *prima duodena* of the Merchant Gild in 1389 and 1396, and also steward of the gild, but he was never mayor of Newcastle. As he was member of parliament for Bridgnorth in the second parliament of 1380 and in 1384, there was evidently some competition for a seat. In 1385 and 1387 he was executor of the will of Richard Colclough.<sup>32</sup>

Richard Bontable's fellow member in 1377 was Thomas Thicknesse. His connection with Newcastle seems to have begun then. It was continued when he was elected a burgess without fee in 1380. He served the borough as one of their parliamentary representatives from 1382 to 1411 on eight further occasions, was elected a bailiff in 1383, and mayor in 1407 and

<sup>29</sup> S.H.C., 1917-18, p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> S.H.C., XV, p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> S.H.C., XIII, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> S.H.C., XIII, p. 192.

1409. Also, he was one of the *prima duodena* of the Merchant Gild in 1396. In 1361 he leased land in Betley from Lord Audley; <sup>33</sup> in 1392 he and Richard Sneyd leased all Hillary's share of the Audley inheritance in North Staffordshire, <sup>34</sup> and he was grantee of a further share after the death of Elizabeth, widow of Sir Nicholas de Audley, for and during the life of Margaret Hillary. <sup>35</sup> His house in Newcastle was in 1402, on his own valuation worth £40. <sup>36</sup> He was dead in 1412, leaving a widow, Jane, and one executor was Henry Delves of Apedale. He is perhaps the first example of a wealthy local landed proprietor elected as one of their members of parliament by the Newcastle burgesses. But the connection of the Thicknesse family with Newcastle was of earlier date than 1377. Most likely it was the father of Thomas Thicknesse who made the following declaration recorded in the Registers of the Bishop of Lichfield, 22 September, 1378:—

“ William Thicknes of noble birth, aged 70, declared that when he was 12 he married of his own free will Elizabeth Coyney aged 8. . . . When he was 20, moved by what spirit he knew not, he was secretly married to Katherine Swynnerton. . . . By Katherine he had offspring William and Eve still surviving. All this time Elizabeth was alive and not divorced, being at once a maid and a wife as she affirmed to her confessor at the time of her death. When Katherine died he married publicly Margery de Audley, who is still surviving, and by her he had offspring who are now regarded as his right heirs.”

William Thicknesse, the elder, who made this statement, was born about 1308, and he appears to have been elected mayor of Newcastle in 1373 and 1377. William de Thicknesse, who was one of the Newcastle parliamentary representatives in 1378, 1380, 1382, 1384, and in the two parliaments of 1388, was styled “ junior ” when he was elected to the mayoralty of Newcastle in 1372, 1379, 1380, 1382, and 1383. He was elected to the same office in 1385, 1387, 1395, and 1399 without the qualifying title. Perhaps he was the elder half-brother of Thomas Thicknesse, and was responsible for the latter's introduction to the Newcastle burgesses. William de Thicknesse, junior, was the mayor when his kinsman Thomas was elected a burgess without payment. The former was one of the Merchant Gild *prima duodena* in 1389, but his name does not occur in connection with the Gild Merchant

<sup>33</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIII, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1917-18, p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 209.

<sup>36</sup> *S.H.C.*, XV, p. 106.

of 1396. William de Thicknesse, junior, and Alice his wife, sold land in Knutton in 1366,<sup>37</sup> and in 1400 he and his wife settled lands in Newcastle, Great Clayton, Penkhull, and Wolstanton on themselves and their issue.<sup>38</sup> Henry de Erdeleye, member for Newcastle in the second parliament of 1377, came from a family living in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. The Eardley pedigree is given in Chetwynd's *History of Pirehill Hundred*. Thomas Hap who was returned along with Thomas Podmore in 1381, was a Newcastle burgess, serving the office of bailiff in 1378-79. Henry de Kele, member for Newcastle in 1382, was also a local man. John Kele was elected a burgess in 1378, and one of his securities was Thomas Hap. William de Brompton, who represented the borough in 1383, was one of the most influential Newcastle burgesses, though he does not appear to have served the usual offices of constable, receiver, bailiff, and so on, nor was he elected mayor, but he was one of the *prima duodena* of the Merchant Gild in 1389 and 1396. He and his wife Margery in 1365 recovered tenements in Newcastle-under-Lyme, and damages in a suit against the tenant Thomas de Wodehull. The latter had caused waste and destruction in the property which he held for his life of the inheritance of Margery.<sup>39</sup> In 1372, in right of his wife, he had a special fee granted by John of Gaunt to him for all minstrels who came to Newcastle.<sup>40</sup> For a certain *placea* improved from the waste near the house of Nicholas Chamber, William Brompton, in 1384, agreed to pay to the mayor and ruling XXIV twenty shillings per annum. In 1398, William de Brompton and his wife Margery settled land in Newcastle on their two daughters, Elena, married to William Skitby, and Katherine.<sup>41</sup> Ralph del Hogh was member of parliament for Newcastle six times—in 1384, 1385, 1386, 1391, 1393, and 1395. He was associated with William Thicknesse as a member in 1384 and the same two were acquitted of harbouring murderers in 1388.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps Ralph's wife, Margaret, was a member of the Thicknesse family. She and her husband had land in Betley, Audley, and Newcastle in 1410.<sup>43</sup> John Cook, who was a member along with Ralph Hogh in 1393, was a burgess of Newcastle. In 1375 he was contributing forty pence to the borough funds, and in 1384 Thomas Cook was elected a burgess.

<sup>37</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 210.

<sup>39</sup> *S.H.C.*, XIII, p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> John of Gaunt's Register, 26 Nov., 1372.

<sup>41</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 204.

<sup>42</sup> *S.H.C.*, XVI, p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> *S.H.C.*, XI, p. 210.

John and Thomas Joce, who were the borough members in 1402, were perhaps brothers, of Hanchurch, with an interest in Blurton. John Jorce was a servant with Sir William Ipstones when that knight was slain by Roger Swynnerton on his way to parliament in 1394. As John Jouce he witnessed a Cocknage deed of 1403, and a John Joce of Hanchurch and Blurton was dead and succeeded by a son, Thomas, in 1454, leaving a widow, Margaret.<sup>44</sup>

At the beginning of the fifteenth century a change was taking place in the parliamentary representation of Newcastle. We have seen that at first the borough members were burgesses. With an increasing desire for a seat in parliament, the local gentry induced the burgesses to elect them as their members, and in some cases they secured burgess rights in Newcastle. On the accession of Henry IV to the throne in 1399, the wide interests and possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster became vested in the Crown. The king either wanted to pack parliament or reward his retainers, so from 1406 one borough member was usually a nominee of the Duchy of Lancaster. Although the parliamentary decision about the 1621 Newcastle election petition was stated to be based on the evidence that the populace had elected the members in the time of Edward IV, and therefore there was no prescriptive right of election vested in the Corporation alone, yet in 1614 Fortescue, the Attorney-General and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, stated in the House of Commons: "The prescription of the Chancellor (of the Duchy) is to have the nomination of one of the burgesses in every one of the Duchy towns. It hath been so in his remembrance and is ancient. *Error temporum*. A Bill should be brought in to reform these abuses."<sup>45</sup>

Fortescue did not know that this prescriptive right dated from Henry IV's reign. From 1413 to 1460 the chief stewards of the Duchy of Lancaster were more influential than any peer in the county of Stafford. The earl of Stafford became the duke of Buckingham, and was out of the county; Basset was extinct; Lord Audley had left Audley and his possessions were divided; and Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, did not live at Alton Castle when he was in England. The duchy influence over a seat at Newcastle was exerted from the Staffordshire headquarters at Tutbury Castle.

<sup>44</sup> *S.H.C.*, VII, N.S., pp. 251-3.

<sup>45</sup> Parry, *Parliament*, pp. 265-6.

As there are no local records at Newcastle between 1411 and 1490 little can be added about Newcastle to Colonel J. C. Wedgwood's *Staffordshire Members of Parliament*,<sup>46</sup> which account should be consulted for detailed biographies of the Newcastle members. The duchy nominee is usually recorded after the burgess or local member. In 1406 both Richard Fyton and William Lee had Staffordshire associations, but they were not Newcastle burgesses, and they both may have been duchy nominees. Hugh Colclough, by reason of his name, should be a local man, but he is not mentioned in the Newcastle records. He was elected to represent the borough in parliament in 1407, when John Colclough was the mayor and William Colclough was one of the bailiffs of Newcastle. John Tatenhale, his fellow-member, was no doubt a duchy nominee: his surname suggests Tatenhill, near Tutbury. Both Thomas Thiknesse and William Bowyer, who represented Newcastle in 1411, were local men. Thiknesse was a burgess, and if Bowyer was not his father was. Then from 1413 and on to the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII,<sup>47</sup> in most cases it can be proved definitely that one Newcastle member was nominated by the duchy of Lancaster. William Skitby, member in 1416, and John Biddulph, member in 1419 and 1421, were burgesses of Newcastle and both served the office of bailiff. After 1421 the members who might be burgesses were John Wood of Keele, Thomas Podmore and perhaps Roger Legh. John Legh was twice mayor of Newcastle, in 1493-94, and in the following year. The most important of the members sent to parliament from Newcastle by the duchy was Sir Reynold Bray, in 1478. He was a Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Duchy from September, 1485, until his death in August, 1503.

#### NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

(The first date is when parliament was summoned to meet, the second when parliament was dissolved.)

- |       |                                 |                        |
|-------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1354. | April 28                        | } John Lagowe.         |
| „     | May 20                          |                        |
| 1355. | Nov. 12                         | } Johannes de Blorton. |
| „     | Dec. 30                         |                        |
| 1357. | No Staffordshire returns found. |                        |

<sup>46</sup> S.H.C., 1917-18.

<sup>47</sup> The end of "Medieval Newcastle."

1358. Feb. 5 } William de Homersley.  
 „ Feb. 27 } Richard de Podmore.  
 1360. May 15 } William Gent.  
 „ Date uncertain } Richard de Colclough.  
 1361. Jan. 24 } William Gent.  
 „ Feb. 18 } Richard de Podmore.  
 1362. Oct. 13 } Richard de Podmore.  
 „ Nov. 17 } Thomas de Wodhull.  
 1363. Oct. 6 } Richard de Lavndene.  
 „ Oct. 30 } John de Lysull.  
 1365. Jan. 20 } Thomas de Wodhull.  
 „ Feb. 28 } Richard de Podmore.  
 1366. May 4 } Richard de Podmore.  
 „ May 11 } Thomas de Wodhull.  
 1368. May 1 } Names illegible.  
 „ May 21 }  
 1369. June 3 } Richard de Laundene.  
 „ June 11 } Roger Letys.  
 1371. Feb. 24 } Roger Letys.  
 „ Mar. 29 } Richard Lavendene.  
 1372. Oct. 13 } Edmund Toly.  
 „ Nov. 24 } Thomas *or* William Colclough.<sup>48</sup>  
 1373. Nov. 21 } Thomas de Wodhull.  
 „ Dec. 10 } Roger del Castell.  
 1376. Feb. 12 } No Newcastle returns.  
 „ July 10 }  
 1377. Jan. 27 } Richard Buntable.  
 „ Mar. 2 } Thomas Thicknesse.  
 1377. Oct. 13 } Thomas de Podmore.  
 „ Nov. 28 } Henry de Erdeleye.  
 1378. Oct. 20 } Thomas de Podmore.  
 „ Nov. 16 } William de Thecenens.  
 1379. April 24 } No returns of Staffordshire boroughs.  
 „ May 27 }  
 1380. Jan. 16 } John Kene.  
 „ Mar. 3 } William de Thykenes.  
 1380. Nov. 5 } No Newcastle returns.  
 „ Dec. 6 }  
 1381-82. Sept. 16 } Thomas Podmore.  
 „ Feb. 28 } Thomas Hap.  
 1382. May 7 } Thomas Thyknesse.  
 „ May 22 } John Thyknesse.

<sup>48</sup> "William" in writs "de expensis;" "Thomas" in return.

1382.	Oct.	6	William Thycenes.
„	Oct.	24	Henry de Kele.
1383.	Feb.	23	Thomas de Thyknesse.
„	Mar.	10	William de Brompton.
1383.	Oct.	26	Thomas de Thyknesse.
„	Nov.	26	Thomas de Podmore.
1384.	April	29	William Thiknes.
„	May	27	Ralph de la Hogh.
1384.	Nov.	12	John Colclough.
„	Dec.	24	William Colclough.
1385.	Oct.	20	William Colclough.
„	Dec.	6	Ralph del Hogh.
1386.	Oct.	1	William Colclough.
„	Nov.	28	Ralph Hogh.
1388.	Feb.	3	William Thikenes.
„	June	4	John Kene.
1388.	Sept.	9	William de Thiknes.
„	Oct.	17	Thomas de Thiknes.
1390.	Jan.	17	John Colclough.
„	Mar.	3	William Colclough.
1390.	Nov.	12	No borough returns.
„	Dec.	3	
1391.	Nov.	3	Thomas Thiknesse.
„	Dec.	2	Ralph del Hogh.
1393.	Jan.	20	Ralph Hogh.
„	Feb.	10	John Cook.
1394.	Jan.	27	No borough returns.
„	Mar.	6	
1395.	Jan.	27	William Colclough.
„	Feb.	15	Ralph Hogh.
1397.	Jan.	22	William Colclough.
„	Feb.	12	Thomas Thickenes.
1397-98.	Sept.	17	No borough returns.
„	Jan.	31	
1399.	Oct.	6	Thomas Podmore.
„	Nov.	19	Thomas Thykenes.
1400-01.	Oct.	27	No borough returns.
„	Mar.	10	
1402.	Sept.	15	John Joce.
„	Nov.	25	Thomas Joce.
1403-04.	Dec.	3	No Newcastle returns.
„	Mar.	20	
1404.	No borough returns.		

1406. Feb. 15 } Richard Fyton.  
 „ Dec. 22 } William Lee.  
 1407. Oct. 20 } Hugh Colclough.  
 „ Dec. 2 } John Tatenhale.  
 1410. No Staffordshire returns.  
 1411. Nov. 3 } Thomas Thikenes.  
 „ Dec. 19 } William Bowyer.  
 1413. May 15 } William de Lee.  
 „ June 9 } Hugh Wyldeblood.  
 1414. No borough returns.  
 1416. Mar. 16 } William Skytteby.  
 „ May 10 } Thomas Chamberlyn.  
 1419. Oct. 16 } John Bedulf.  
 „ Nov. 13 } John Miners.  
 1420. Dec. 2 } Hugh de Stanford.  
 „ Uncertain } John Hardhed.  
 1421. May 2 } John Bydulf.  
 „ June ? } Thomas Baron.  
 1421. Dec. 1 } Hugh Stanford.  
 „ Dec. 3 } Thomas Lee.  
 1422. Nov. 9 } John Myners.  
 „ Dec. 18 } Hugh Stanford.  
 1423-24. Oct. 20 } Hugh Stanford.  
 „ Feb. 28 } William Sandbache.  
 1425. April 30 } John Wode.  
 „ July 14 } William Hextall.  
 1426. Feb. 18 } Robert Wodehous.  
 „ June 1 } Henry Lilie.  
 1427-28. Oct. 13 } John Wode.  
 „ Mar. 25 } Thomas Lee.  
 1429-30. Oct. 13 } William Egerton.  
 „ Feb. 23 } William Hextall.  
 1431. Jan. 12 } John Atte Wode.  
 „ Mar. 20 } Roger Legh.  
 1432. May 12 } James Leveson.  
 „ July 17 } John Wood.  
 1433. July 8 } John Wood.  
 „ Dec. 21 } Thomas Podmore.  
 1435. Oct. 10 } Richard Bruyn.  
 „ Dec. 23 } William Hextall.  
 1437. Jan. 21 } Thomas Preston.  
 „ Mar. 27 } Nicholas Repynghale.  
 1439-40. Nov. 12 } No borough returns.  
 „ Feb. 9 }

1442.	Jan. 25	John Nedham.
„	Mar. 27	William Cumberford.
1447.	Feb. 10	John Nedham.
„	Mar. 3	John Cudworth.
1449.	Feb. 12	John Nedham.
„	July 16	Thomas Everdon.
1449-50.	Nov. 6	Ralf Wolseley.
„	May 17	Thomas Mayne.
1450-51.	Nov. 6	Thomas Colclogh.
„	June 11	Richard Mosley.
1453-54.	Mar. 6	Thomas Colcloghe.
„	April 16	John Spenser.
1455-56.	July 9	John Spenser.
„	Mar. 3	Richard Mosley.
1459	}	No Staffordshire returns.
1460		
1461-62		
1463-65		
1467-68.	June 3	James Norys.
„	June 7	Robert Hille.
1472-75.	Oct. 6	William Paſton.,
„	Mar. 14	John Wode.
1477-78	Jan. 16 (1478)	William Yonge.
„	Feb. 26	Reynold Bray.
1483	}	No Staffordshire returns.
1484		
1485-86		
1487-88		
1489-90	}	No Newcastle returns.
1491-92.	Oct. 17	
„	Mar. 5	
1495-96.	Oct. 14	No Newcastle returns.
„	Unknown	
1497	}	No Staffordshire returns.
1504		
1509		

## CHAPTER XII.

### BOROUGH DEVELOPMENT.

BEFORE analysing the government of the borough as revealed in the minutes of the Corporation during the lordship of John of Gaunt, it will be as well to take stock and summarise the history of the borough development for the first two centuries of its existence.

In 1172, when the 160 occupiers of burgage tenements were allowed to acquit their occupation by an annual payment of one shilling rent, all the inhabitants of the new free borough had certain rights in the open fields which surrounded the town. The arable and pasture lands were formed by clearing the woodland districts adjacent to the town, the wood being used chiefly for building and for fuel. The "campus" or "field" thus cleared was not enclosed, not even the arable part, which was ploughed up into "lands" or "selions," each the length of the furrow or plough-drive. Areas in which the "lands" lay parallel to one another were hence called "furlongs." The "lands" for the purpose of drainage turned up in such a way as to form waves or ridges were each fairly commonly a rood in width, and four "lands" or "selions" side by side formed an acre. A turf balk separated every acre, or sometimes every half-acre. Two of the three large open fields were ploughed in common every year. One was sown with wheat or oats for food, and the other with barley for brewing. The third field was allowed to lie fallow. Ploughland and fallow followed in rotation. If the Brampton and Ashfield to the north of the borough were sown with oats and Poolfield with Clayton field on the west and south with barley, then the Stubbs common field to the east of the borough would lie fallow. In the following year the Brampton and Ashfield would lie fallow, and the third year Poolfield and Clayton field would take their turn. The inhabitants of Newcastle in the twelfth century no doubt held scattered acre or half-acre strips of arable in all the common fields, which occupied

much of the borough area, but also overflowed into the adjacent villis of Penkhill, Clayton, and Wolstanton, and they had the right of grazing their oxen and sheep over the pasture. This curious intermixture of the cultivators' strips was due to primitive shareholding in agriculture. Besides the woodland, the arable, and the pasture lands which made up the lands shared in common by the people of Newcastle, there were unreclaimed waste and marsh lands. There was the same system of communal partnership in land throughout the manor of Newcastle, and as the court rolls of the manor are extant from the fourteenth century, we can trace therein survivals of the early agricultural system in the townships outside the borough: "three selions of land of socage lying in Stoorwalcroft," "four acres of land of waste next the Bromehill within the fee of Clayton and Shep-rugge," "two butts of waste," "two doles of meadow," "destroyed his oats growing in the 'fields' (*campis*) of Clayton," and similar suggestive expressions occur in the fourteenth and fifteenth century rolls. The open field system, with its scattered ownership, was exceedingly uneconomical. A careful cultivator might spend many hours in visiting all his cultivated strips in the Brampton, Ashfield, Poolfield, and Clayton fields to clean his own land and find his work quite useless, because his careless neighbours had allowed the thistles to thrive and spread from their unweeded selions. Fences were only of use to divide off the arable from the pasture. When the harvest was gathered in the fences were thrown down and the stubble was used for cattle grazing. The duty of erecting fences at seed-time was assigned to particular individuals, and special gaps for serving the arable acres had to be made. As soon as a man could enclose his arable land with a hedge or fence he no doubt did so. Although much of the arable was thus enclosed in later medieval times, yet the rights of pasture were not extinguished until less than a hundred years ago. But one fourteenth-century ordinance on fencing in the winter and lent fields recorded in the borough minutes<sup>1</sup> does not seem to tally with the ordinary features of the open field. It refers not to owners but to occupiers who apparently hold only for a year, and the fencing enjoined upon them is not the enclosure of the whole arable field during crop, but of their several allotments. This seems to point to some alteration of the system under urban conditions. In some boroughs it has been noted that "the arable 'shareland' gets distributed to single householders,

<sup>1</sup> Appendix F, p. 152.

on the same principles of rotation and assignment by lot, which seem to have been the rule in regard to meadows.”<sup>2</sup> We may be sure that the settlers near the New Castle, who were encouraged by royal charter to carry on their trade, at first dealt in little more than the mere necessities of life. They lived in mud or wood-framed huts with gabled roofs of thatch and reeds, and their lives were one continual round of toil. Of the town officers met with in the records of the fourteenth century, the one with the earliest title was the reeve, later styled bailiff. In the twelfth century he would preside over those meetings which concerned the inhabitants of the borough when such business was transacted as the division of strips of arable ground, the apportionment of pastures, the letting of stalls or fields, the gathering in of rents from burgages, or from common property, let on lease. These common interests were controlled by the whole community. At the borough court the bailiff, originally the lord’s officer and appointed by him, presided and came to collect the fines and rents for his lord. The charter of the Gild Merchant in 1235 increased the importance of the borough as a trading centre. A mayor was chosen to preside at the business meetings of the burgesses, and the establishment of the gild to regulate trade brought more money into the borough. Some burgage-holders, because they were not in trade, may not have taken up membership of the gild, but nearly all the freemen of the gild were burgesses, so that the freemen of the gild came to enjoy not only the trading privileges, but all the other rights of the burgesses. Before 1235 all the miscellaneous dues which the bailiffs collected were swallowed up by the lord of the manor, and the burgesses had no public revenues. But the gild had revenues. It had the entrance fees paid by the members, the payments extracted from foreign traders and perhaps special levies made upon its members. The creation of a revenue belonging to the community marked a very important advance, for it meant that the freemen began to have an existence as a corporate body, and not only as individuals. Gild funds undoubtedly built the Gildhall mentioned sixty years after the Gild Merchant was granted. When the burgesses were given in 1251 the right of collecting their own rents due to the king, another important step in self-government was gained by the borough. The functions of the royal bailiff and the sheriff, or his representative, were now handed over to the mayor and bailiffs of the borough. Borough officers collected the fee-farm,

<sup>2</sup> Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, p. 174.

held the view of frankpledge, levied taxes, mustered the men-at-arms, and presided over civil and criminal courts. The government and jurisdiction which had been so divided were settling within the borough, but these and other privileges were not granted for nothing. They were rewards for services rendered, for such payments and bribes as the officials in high places judged that the burghers could afford, or for loans in time of need. The people everywhere simply won such advantages as time and opportunity allowed, and secured benefits which were measured by the grace of the king, or by the price they could afford to pay, or by the show of resistance they could make to their lord.<sup>3</sup>

Within the century after the formation of the borough the simplicity and uniformity of burgage tenure was completely broken up. Owners of capital began to thrust out the owners of land, though the latter had certain enviable ancient rights. The new society took in traders, agriculturists, parish priests, merchants in a large way, small masters with one or two journeymen, artisans just released from apprenticeship and enrolled as members of some craft gild, rich people who held several burgages, and men who rented a small shop, even bondmen who were seeking freedom. The new-comers were summoned before the burgesses in public court to take their oath of obedience to the king and fidelity to the customs of the town, to get two good men to act as pledges, to pay their fees, and to give security for payment of taxes by proving good income or a tenement. Once or twice a year they had to appear at the Borough Court. The chief privileges of the burgess were the rights of common and of pasturage on the town lands, and especially the right to trade. Protected from the intrusion and the competition of the alien, the burgess rented his stall in the market at a lower price than that of the stranger; he had first choice of storage room in the Gild-hall for his wool, leather, or corn; the market hour was for him an hour or two earlier than for strangers. If a travelling merchant brought his wares to the town, the citizen might claim the right of buying whether the owner wished to sell or no, and might insist on a share in the profits of any mercantile venture of his fellow burgesses.<sup>4</sup> He alone might keep apprentices and become a master in his craft, and if he travelled outside his own town for trade he was specially privileged. But these privileges were not a free gift. The franchise meant to the burgher a sort of carefully

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, I, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 182.

adjusted bargain whereby he compounded for paying certain tolls by undertaking to do work which otherwise might be both costly and laborious for the community. He was taxed for town expenses, served on juries, was called to arms in defence of the borough, and was summoned to serve as mayor, bailiff, serjeant, town receiver, offices usually more onerous than profitable. To secure complete power over all the inhabitants within their walls, so that they might compel all alike to bear their share of burdensome duties and submit to the borough courts, was the aim of the town authorities after they had won from their lord full rights of self-government. For its method of government, and for the development of its liberties, each borough was ultimately left to depend only on its own resources.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### BOROUGH GOVERNMENT FROM 1369 TO 1411.

DESPITE the statement made by the chief burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1341 that the whole borough was reduced to poverty,<sup>1</sup> we have seen that thirteen years later the borough could support the burden of paying representatives to parliament, and according to the municipal records at the Town Clerk's office from the year 1369,<sup>2</sup> the borough was usually quite sound financially.

The first book of the borough minutes purports to begin in 1368, but as the opening entry relates to the election of the mayor, Roger Letys, on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (September 29), in the 43rd year of the reign of Edward III, the date should have been recorded as 1369.<sup>3</sup> The municipal elections were usually held on the Tuesday following the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, but from 1403 to 1409 inclusive they were on the Friday. In 1386, although the mayor was elected on the usual Tuesday, the election of the other officers and of the burgesses was held on the Friday.

#### THE MAYOR.

During the period 1369-1410-11 thirty-six elections of a mayor are recorded. There are no records for 1390 to 1393 inclusive, nor for 1396 and 1397. After the year 1410-11 there is a gap in the minutes until 1490-91, when they become continuous down to our own times. At the thirty-six recorded elections, Roger Letys was mayor twice, but as he was mayor for the third time in 1369, he was really the chief officer of Newcastle on four occasions. Richard de Lavendon was mayor once; William de Thicknesse, senior or junior, eleven times; Nicholas de Chamber,

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *Stoke-upon-Trent*, XXV, Appendix, p. liv.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>3</sup> In the transcript of the minutes—*vide* Appendix F—the proper dates have been inserted within square brackets.

twice ; Richard de Colclough and Richard Bontable, once each ; Thomas de Podmore, Thomas Bowyer, and Thomas Thicknesse, twice each ; John Colclough, twelve times (the record !). The mayor on election took an oath to do lawfully all things which belonged to his office.

#### THE TWO BAILIFFS.

When the two bailiffs were elected they took an oath similar to that of the mayor, and on entering office they paid twenty marks to the town funds in 1369 and a similar sum in the years 1372 to 1376 inclusive. For the years 1379 and 1380 there are blank spaces where the amount of the fee ought to have been recorded, and in 1382 they paid £10 on taking up their duties. This payment, no doubt, was a set-off against a surplus of the revenues in their hands. The chief duty of the bailiffs was to collect and to pay to the Lord John, duke of Lancaster, or his bailiffs, the " farm " owed by the town at the usual terms—in 1382 the fee-farm was stated to be £40—and the mayor and community were to be indemnified therefor by the bailiffs, who had to find two pledges each. A special condition was enacted in 1379-80. The bailiffs were to have their office with all advantages and appurtenances, but if they lost anything by their office at the end of the year they were to have an allowance of 66s. 8d. ; if they lost nothing, then they were to have no allowance. Perhaps Thomas Hap and Thomas Blurton, the bailiffs for 1378-79 had been unfortunate in their year of office, so Thomas Symond and John de Colclough, their successors, wanted some safeguard. At the end of his year of office, 1385-86, William de Whitmore, as bailiff, owed 25s. to the borough funds. This was not necessarily the sum he had lost by reason of his office, but was perhaps the balance due from him.

It was unusual for the same two bailiffs to be elected for two years in succession. This happened in 1379 and 1380, and again in 1382 and 1383, but one bailiff was occasionally elected for two consecutive years. The bailiffs who served on more than two occasions were : John Kene, six times ; John Colclough, three times ; Henry de Stanlowe, four times ; John Swanylde, three times ; and John Pollard, four times.

#### THE SERJEANT.

During this period only one " common " (*communis*) serjeant was elected each year ; he took an oath to do well and faithfully

all things that belonged to his office, and found pledges therefor. William Michell, elected in 1369, found four pledges, and paid nothing to the town receivers. Adam de Gravenhunger, who served as a warden of the assize of bread and beer in 1369, held the office of serjeant from 1370 to 1374 inclusive, but he found only two pledges, and this was the recognised number in most of the years following. In 1375, Adam de Breton broke Adam de Gravenhunger's monopoly of the office, presumably by paying one mark to the town funds, but he found only one pledge. Next year Adam de Gravenhunger was back in office, and he had to pay a fee, though it was only forty pence. Perhaps the reduced fee was due to his two important pledges, Thomas Podmore and William Brompton. When he was again elected serjeant in 1377, he found one pledge, John Lagowe, for paying his fee due for his office, but the amount of the fee is not stated. There is no mention of a serjeant elected at Michaelmas, 1378. Richard Ford in 1379, William Parker in 1380, and Adam de Gravenhunger in 1382, each found one security, and paid 6s. 8d. No elections were recorded in 1381. A special enactment was made in 1382 to regulate the conditions of the serjeant's election. The fee was fixed at 6s. 8d., and it was to be paid at the feast of the Holy Trinity. The last occasion when only one pledge was required was in 1385. Adam de Gravenhunger's last tenure of the office of serjeant was in the year 1388-89. From 1398 to 1410, members of the Burton or Breton families almost monopolised the office. Only Richard Lylshull, in 1406, broke the sequence.

#### WARDENS OF THE ASSIZE OF BREAD AND BEER.

The only other borough officers whose election was recorded in 1369 were the two wardens of the assize of bread and beer. They took an oath to test faithfully bread and beer in whatever place it might happen to be sold during their term of office, and to present wherever default might be found. In those days the loaf was changed in weight, but not in price, according to the price of corn. The average rate in the fourteenth century for a quarter of corn is calculated to have been about 5s. 10d.,<sup>4</sup> and the unit of bread was a farthing loaf. In the assize of bread only three sorts were recognised—"wastel," or well-baked or white bread; "coket," or seconds; and "simnel," twice baked bread used only in Lent.

<sup>4</sup> Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. I.

## THE COMMON OVEN.

Among the sources of profit to the borough of Newcastle mentioned in the charter of renunciation granted by the mayor and community to Edmund, earl of Lancaster (1293-96), was the oven. In 1370 John Maryott farmed from the mayor and community the common oven at 40s. per annum. When William de Bradwall and William de Wyche took the common oven for a year from Michaelmas, 1373, they were to leave it at the end of the year in as good a state as they received it, or in a better condition if they preferred. In 1375 William de Bradwall rented the oven at 40s. per annum for three years, on condition that the oven would be in good repair at the end of his term, and that in any week he would bake four quarters of corn and would serve well and faithfully all those coming to the bakehouse. If any default were found by the mayor and 24, it was to be made good. Under similar conditions John de Bradwall was to bake two quarters of corn, and William atte Wiche one quarter each week. In 1377 John Pistor, who rented the oven, found one pledge for payment of the farm at the four terms in the year. When Geoffrey le Stringer rented the oven in 1385 for three years he paid 6s. 8d. on behalf of his pledge, John le Roaper. The annual rent was still 40s. In 1398 James de Thicknesse took the oven for a year on the usual terms, but found two pledges. In 1401 Stephen de Hall and Henry de Bradwall rented the oven for five years at 40s. per annum, and each found one pledge, and bound himself in 40s. Among the regulations about ale and wine in 1373-74, it was ordained by the mayor and 24 that nobody might have ale announced in church, except for the office and profit of the church. In 1375-76 an ordinance was made by the mayor and 24 that no innkeeper who had wine to sell should broach it before the mayor and others he pleased to bring should have tested it. A proclamation to the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle-under-Lyme of this period <sup>5</sup> records the wholesale and retail prices of foreign wines. No Englishman who sailed over the sea to import wines of Gascony, Rochelle, Oseye, Spain, and of the Rhine should under pain of forfeiture thereof sell them at a higher price than 100s. a tun for best wine, and a less price for common wine, according to the value thereof, viz. 7 marks 6½ marks, or 6 marks; 6 marks a tun for the best wine of Rochelle, and for other such wine, 5½ marks, 5 marks, 4½ marks, or 4 marks;

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls, 1381-85, p. 237.*

and pipes and other smaller vessels at the same rate. For instance, a gallon of the best should not be sold for more than 6d. Perhaps to supplement this proclamation an ordinance in 1383 was made by the mayor and 24 aldermen about selling ale in sealed measures of particular capacity according to the price of corn. The aldermen were specially enjoined to sell ale by the gallon and quart standard measures, and not by cups, so long as they had any ale to sell. Any delinquent would be required to pay 6s. 8d. to the use of the church of St. Giles. In 1384 it was ordained by the mayor, the 24, and the community that no foreigner, unless he were a burgess from the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, might have licence to brew and bake under penalty of 6s. 8d. to be paid to the borough receiver.

#### THE MILL.

As already noticed, the lord's mill by the Pool dam was usually rented by the borough authorities. In 1375 Nicholas de Chamber and John de Lylleshull rented the mill for four years, but unfortunately a blank space has been left for the amount of rent. In the same year, after a long enumeration of money paid by various burgesses, including all the newly elected as well as those of long standing, it was stated that the borough authorities owed to the duke £6 9s. 1d. for the mill. In 1394, when Henry Millward and Thomas Millward rented the mill, they received it from the mayor and community, but paid the rent to the lord, duke of Lancaster. In 1405 king Henry IV instructed his auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster revenues to release to his poor tenants twenty marks from the usual farm of £40 for his mills, which ought to be paid by the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>6</sup>

#### BOROUGH FINANCE.

In 1369, and for a few years after, there is no record of the election of regular officers who looked after the borough funds, but somebody must have been responsible for the money kept in the common chest. On Friday, after the feast of St. Michael, 1369, the common chest contained 20 marks, and at the end of the year there was £9 5s. On Tuesday after the feast of St. Michael, 1370, the sum of £10 13s. 4d. was in the common chest, and different people owed £9 15s. 8d., besides 9s. each from Thomas Cachpolle and Henry Locksmyth. At Michaelmas, 1373,

<sup>6</sup> Appendix F, p. 171.

De Omnes et singulis personis et communibus  
 Henr. es. Dunt aduocatus de p<sup>re</sup> dunt de laur dunt et rount de Clapp  
 Saluz Come de m<sup>re</sup> grace official vons p dunt et relisly amos poudes  
 temin de m<sup>re</sup> de dunt laur laz binged de m<sup>re</sup> de r<sup>re</sup> g<sup>re</sup> poudes bome  
 Dunt m<sup>re</sup> p an de la ferme de quarrante b<sup>re</sup> que les il dunt  
 anous poudes ammentent p m<sup>re</sup> m<sup>re</sup> b<sup>re</sup> dunt q<sup>re</sup> Erone en nos t<sup>re</sup>  
 poudes ont faitz aduocatus tamone f<sup>re</sup> amos nos m<sup>re</sup> aduocatus al rount  
 et rount plus an p<sup>re</sup> vons m<sup>re</sup> aduocatus q<sup>re</sup> m<sup>re</sup> t<sup>re</sup> dunt poudes de  
 m<sup>re</sup> m<sup>re</sup> de m<sup>re</sup> r<sup>re</sup> dunt ont lo amment de m<sup>re</sup> vons aruocatus  
 faitz alloues p<sup>re</sup> m<sup>re</sup> de la d<sup>re</sup> f<sup>re</sup> dunt quarrante b<sup>re</sup> vons  
 euse appares ammentent tanq<sup>re</sup> vons euse ammentent d<sup>re</sup>  
 vons de la rount vons et vons m<sup>re</sup> t<sup>re</sup> poudes quarrante dunt poudes  
 le poudes de m<sup>re</sup> dunt de laur amment poudes de m<sup>re</sup> de dunt de  
 poudes  
 p t<sup>re</sup> m<sup>re</sup> poudes p dunt de m<sup>re</sup> dunt.

Release of one-third of the annual rent of the mills by Henry IV in 1405.

£15 18s. 4d. was the amount in the chest, but a note adds that the borough was in debt to the extent of £21 12s. 4d. A year later the sum of £7 13s. 4d. was in the chest, and there was no mention of any debt. In 1375-76 £15 8s. 9d. remained clear. With this last mention of the common chest there occurs the first record of collectors of money immediately after the reference to the mill debt. Gilbert de Bickerstath and Hugh de Anderton were appointed to render account of the money collected on the Friday after the feast of St. Michael. The collectors were to be chosen from the governing 24 by the mayor. In 1376 Thomas Hunt, William Skytby, Stephen Madeley, and John Hondson were elected to assess the taxes of the town and two entirely different receivers of money were appointed. In the same year two officers were elected wardens of the church. Not until 1407 is there any further record of churchwardens. Then John Crodok and William Kilforde were elected supervisors of the church and receivers of money collected in the church. Three accounts throw some light on the revenues handled by the receivers. Geoffrey le Stringer's account in 1383-84 has the most details. The total of all his expenses and payments was £32 18s. 4d. John Pratchett owed two years' rent, Lawrence Honydrope and Roger Hondson rent for one year, and James de Podmore for three years. William de Boterdon and John Braas each owed 1s., and John Walshe 1s. 6d. for their freedom. These debts were still unpaid at the end of Stringer's year of office. He seems to have collected 3s. 4d. owing from Alexander Fox for his freedom. The town clerk's fee was 6s. 8d., and the receiver's own fee, £1. The account of John Tuppe and Stephen Hall for the year 1411-12 (which is recorded where the minutes for 1381-82 should occur) shows that their payments included £5 8s. 4d. for the king's tax, two marks to William Lylleshull, the chaplain, for his house in the town, 20s. to the prior of Trent-ham, and 8s. for Lylleshull waste. They had a balance in hand of 23s.

#### RENTS OF SHOPS.

Two of the most lucrative sources of borough revenue were the rents of shops and the fees paid by newly-elected burgesses. In the year 1375-76, which records so many financial details, there are particulars of nine shops each rented at 4s. per annum, payable in two instalments. Two of the shops were rented by butchers, and one man, Ralph Bockenhole (Bucknall) took two

shops. In 1403-04 John Kyner took for a period of twelve years from the mayor and community a shop which had recently been rented by Richard Bontable. The annual rent of 5s. was to be paid half-yearly, repairs were to be undertaken by the tenant, and distraint could be made for arrears. Henry Breton's shop, formerly in the occupation of Richard Crake, merchant, was rented for six years at 10s. per annum. William Hardshin, one of the butchers mentioned in 1375-76, rented his shop for life at 4s. per annum. The mayor and community could recover if the rent were to fall behind for a fortnight. Eight other shops were rented under similar conditions at either 4s. or 5s. per annum.

#### ELECTION OF BURGESSES.

Of the 197 burgesses elected during the years 1369-1411, thirty-two are recorded at the Whitsuntide gild meetings in 1389 and 1396. Perhaps they were enrolled at the following Michaelmas in the borough court leet. The rules for the election and enrolment of burgesses were very elastic at first. The fees varied from nothing to 40s. Pledges were not required in the earlier years, but from 1376 one or two pledges were the rule, while Geoffrey Podmore, in 1407, had to find three pledges. In 1384 two newly-elected burgesses pledged their own word of honour, and in 1402 the same security was accepted from another burgess. The fee usually exacted was either one mark (13s. 4d.) or 10s. Of the thirteen burgesses elected in 1369, four were to pay 20s., five one mark, and four 10s., but four of them were to be let off with half a mark if paid by Christmas Day. A woman was elected a burgess at a fee of one mark if she got married before the end of the year, but if not she was to pay 20s. There is nothing to show whether she saved half a mark. Another woman was elected in 1372, two in 1376, and one each in 1378 and 1394.<sup>7</sup> At the gild Whitsuntide meeting in 1389, Agnes Chaloner was the one pledge for Richard Chaloner, fisherman. The case of Roger Gray in 1378 is unusual. He was to retain his liberty as long as he remained unmarried. Perhaps he was a widower and had acquired his right through his wife. Eight of the thirteen burgesses elected in 1369 received their freedom on condition that they resided within the borough, and seven were warned that if they were rebellious or deceitful they would forfeit their freedom. One

<sup>7</sup> There is no indication in the minutes that they did not acquire the same rights and incur the same duties as men. But cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, I, p. 672.

was enjoined to use his own craft. One burgess elected in 1370 had to pay a fee of 40s., half of which was to be paid as from the mayor and community to Henry le Delves. Another, who ought to have paid 20s., was excused two-thirds of the fee. John Pypott was elected without payment by gift of the mayor and community. William Smythies next year was also elected without paying a fee, but as he was called "clericus" and received his freedom on condition that he would serve the mayor and community, he was no doubt the curate of the church of St. Giles. Of the two burgesses elected *gratis* in 1379, Thomas Thickenesse had represented the borough in the 1377 parliament, and the other was "Dominus" John Heuster, chaplain of the parish, who paid nothing because he was *clericus communis*. Of the nineteen men elected burgesses at the gild meeting in 1389, two, Nicholas Kene and Thomas Podmore, paid nothing by consent of the "24 seniors." Three also of the thirteen who were elected burgesses at the next recorded gild meeting (in 1396) paid nothing. No reason is given in the case of William Hall, but Helias Wor was a chaplain and "Dominus" William Benet was the rector (of Stoke). The following is an analysis of the fees and the conditions under which the burgesses were elected during this period:—

YEAR BEGINNING MICHAELMAS.	NO. ELECTED.	FEES PAID.	PLEDGES AND CONDITIONS.
1369	13	20s. (4), 13s. 4d. (5), 10s. (4).	8 residence. 1 use own craft. 1 was a woman.
1370	9	40s. (1), 20s. (3), 13s. 4d. (2), 6s. 8d. (1), nil (1).	7 residence. 1 no fee stated.
1371	4	20s. (1), no fee stated (2), nil (1).*	2 with one pledge each. "Clericus."* 3 residence.
1372	12	26s. 8d. (1), 16s. 8d. (1), 13s. 4d. (1), 10s. (1); 8 no fee stated.	6 residence. 1 was a woman.
1373	—	—	—
1374	1	1 no fee stated.	Residence.
1375	8	30s. (1), 20s. (2), 13s. 4d. (3), 6s. 8d. (2).	8 residence.

## BOROUGH GOVERNMENT FROM 1369 TO 1411 III

YEAR BEGINNING MICHAELMAS.	NO. ELECTED.	FEES PAID.	PLEDGES AND CONDITIONS.
1376	13	26s. 8d. (1), 20s. (1), 13s. 4d. (4), 10s. (2), 6s. 8d. (1), 8s. (1).	3 no fee stated. 2 women (1 pledged by Mayor). 3 men with 2 pledges. 1 residence. 11 use own craft.
1377	4	26s. 8d. (1), 13s. 4d. (1), 10s. (2).	2 with one pledge each. 4 residence and use own craft.
1378	5	30s. (1), 20s. (1), 13s. 4d. (2), 6s. 8d. (1 woman with 1 pledge).	3 with 2 pledges, 1 with 1. 4 residence.
1379	7	16s. 8d. (1), 13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (1), 6s. 8d. (1), nil (2).	2 with 2 pledges. 3 with 1 pledge. 5 residence.
1380	5	23s. 4d. (1), 13s. 4d. (4).	2 pledges each. Resi- dence, all 5.
1381	—	—	—
1382	—	—	—
1383	2	20s. (1), 10s. (1).	1 pledge each; residence both.
1384	8	26s. 8d. (1), 10s. (7).	1 with 2 pledges. 4 with 1 pledge. 2 his own faith. 8 residence.
1385	5	13s. 4d. (1), 12s. (1), 10s. (3).	2 with 1 pledge. 3 with 2 pledges.
1386	9	40s. (1), 13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (6).	4 with 1 pledge. 5 with 2 pledges. Residence for all 9.
1387	7	20s. (1), 16s. 8d. (3), 13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (1).	5 with one pledge. 2 with 2 pledges. Residence for all 7.
1388	19	13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (15), nil (2).	5 with 1 pledge. 12 with 2 pledges. 16 residence.
1389	1	10s. (1).	2 pledges.
1390	—	—	} No records.
1391	—	—	
1392	—	—	
1393	—	—	
1394	7	26s. 8d. (1), 20s. (1), 13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (3) (1 a woman).	1 with 1 pledge. 6 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 7.

YEAR BEGINNING MICHAELMAS.	NO. ELECTED.	FEES PAID.	PLEDGES AND CONDITIONS.
1395	18	13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (13), nil (3).	7 with 1 pledge. 7 with 2 pledges. 14 residence. 13 elected at Gild.
1396	—	—	} No records.
1397	—	—	
1398	7	13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (4), 6s. 8d. (1).	5 with 1 pledge. 1 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 7.
1399	4	13s. 4d. (1), 10s. (3).	1 with 1 pledge. 3 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 4.
1400	1	10s. (1).	2 pledges and residence.
1401	1	10s. (1).	2 pledges.
1402	4	20s. (1), 13s. 4d. (2), 10s. (1).	2 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 4.
1403	—	—	—
1404	5	13s. 4d. (1), 10s. (4).	3 with 1 pledge. 2 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 5.
1405	2	10s. (2).	1 with 1 pledge. 1 with 2 pledges. Residence, both.
1406	3	10s. (2), 12s. (1).	2 pledges and residence for each.
1407	3	10s. (3).	1 with 2 pledges. 1 with 3 pledges. Residence, all 3.
1408	5	13s. 4d. (1), 10s. (4).	1 with 1 pledge. 4 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 5.
1409	2	40s. (1), 10s. (1).	2 pledges and residence for each.
1410	3	10s. (3).	2 with 1 pledge. 1 with 2 pledges. Residence, all 3. 2 to use own craft.

From these records it is difficult to find out how the business of the town was carried on. For instance, in 1385 Geoffrey le Stringer rented the common oven from the mayor and 24, but in 1389 and in three later years the oven was let by the mayor and the community. The mayor and the community were also the

recognised authorities to let the mills. Again, in 1375 and 1385 shops were rented from the mayor and 24, but in 1403-04 the shops were let by the mayor and community. The community most likely would comprise all those burgesses who troubled to attend a meeting for the transaction of business wherein they had a share. Evidently they were not always summoned. A body of 24 usually co-operated with the mayor to issue bye-laws for the town, and to transact most of the town business. Similar bodies of "Twenty-four," often described as the Mayor's Council or Brethren, existed in a number of other boroughs, even as early as the thirteenth century in some cases, e.g. Winchester and Leicester.

The ordinances issued by the mayor and 24 included (a) rules for selling ale or wine (1373-74, 1375-76, 1382-83), (b) permission to buy free of toll necessary victuals granted to the prior of Trentham (1372-73), though a similar privilege, about the year 1316, was granted to the abbot of Hulton by the mayor and community; (c) regulation of the election of collectors of money (1375-76); (d) disputes about land between burgesses and foreigners (1375-76); (e) land enclosure (1384-85); (f) conditions for election of burgesses (1386-87, 1395-96); and so on.

As we have seen in certain cases, the community acted with the mayor instead of the 24, but the community also assisted the mayor and 24 (a) to elect burgesses without fee (1378-79), and (b) to make rules about fences on the common lands, etc. (1379-80). In this ordinance the 24 are called "seniors." In 1382-83, when regulating the sale of beer the 24 are styled "Aldermen." This mention of the 24 as aldermen does not seem to be an error, because they are elsewhere called *seniores*, which term is often applied to aldermen, being its regular Latin equivalent, but it is most unusual at such an early date. Chester affords an exact parallel, including the use of *seniores*, but except at London, where only there were 24 wards, ward-aldermen were never in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries identical with the Mayor's Council of 24, though they probably, and in some cases certainly, were members of it. It was not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that they emerged either as a new and smaller Mayor's Council above the 24, as at Winchester, or as identical with the 24, as at Leicester by the charter of 1589. When Newcastle burgesses were elected without fee at the gild meetings, they received their freedom from the mayor and 24. If they had been elected at the Michaelmas or Easter leet, the community would have voted along with the mayor and 24.

The extant gild minutes do not record any other business than the election of freemen. At this late date the fusion between the governing bodies of borough and gild seems almost complete. Probably the *prima duodena* and the *secunda duodena* who governed the gild comprised the 24 who assisted the mayor and the community when they were making ordinances for the better government of the borough.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE CASTLE IN LATER TIMES.

DURING the latter part of the fourteenth and all through the following century the connection between Tutbury Castle and the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme was a very close one until the latter castle, when it was no longer useful, fell into decay. The two castles seem for financial purposes to have come under the jurisdiction of the receiver of Tutbury during the ill-fated rule of Thomas, earl of Lancaster. In 1323 John Lovot, the provost of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, as deputy, rendered account before Roger Beler, the earl's constable, of the castle and honour of Tutbury.<sup>1</sup> The farm from Newcastle paid by the bailiffs of the borough, John son of Thomas, and Robert de Blorton, was £20; the farm of the mills, £16 13s. 4d., was paid by Randolph Tholes and Richard Lagou, and John Lovot himself collected, no doubt at the manor court, the assessed rents of £10 14s. due chiefly from the villages which subsequently developed into the pottery towns. But it was not until the time of Henry, duke of Lancaster, and especially of his son-in-law, John of Gaunt, that the connection between Tutbury and Newcastle became really close. We have seen that in 1362 John, earl of Lancaster, confirmed the grant made to Sir Godfrey Foljambe of the castle, manor, and town of Newcastle at a yearly rent of £127. In 1370 John de Chevyngton was granted the office of porter of the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme for life in the same manner as Thomas Attestone had held the office, guarding safely the castle and taking the accustomed fees and wages. Sir Godfrey, on 3 December, 1371, was instructed to pay the fees to John de Chevyngton from his farm.<sup>2</sup> On 12 March, 1372, John of Gaunt instructed Sir Robert atte More, his receiver of Newcastle, to pay from the issues there five marks to William Chetwynd.<sup>3</sup> In the same year, on 10 May, an indenture was

<sup>1</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 11, Bundle 1146.

<sup>2</sup> John of Gaunt's Register, ed. Armitage Smith, 873.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 952.

made between John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster of the one part, and William Chetwynd, esquire, of the other part, whereby William Chetwynd's services for life were retained in the duke's interests at ten marks per annum in time of peace and twenty marks in time of war. The money was to be paid by the receiver of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>4</sup> Later, 30 April, 1373, the fees to be paid were altered to ten marks per annum in time of war as well as of peace.<sup>5</sup> John of Gaunt assumed the title of king of Castile and Leon when in 1372, at Bordeaux, he married for his second wife Constance, the elder daughter of Don Pedro, the recently deceased king of Castile and Leon. When he brought his royal bride to England she chose Tutbury for her residence, so the duke caused extensive repairs and alterations to be made for her pleasure. A vineyard and gardens were planted, and a new park stocked with deer. The splendour of the court at Tutbury, and the liberality of the duke, were famed far and wide. To please the queen of the court, who was fond of music and had brought musicians from her own country, a King of the Minstrels was appointed, and no doubt to remind her in some fashion of one form of Spanish sport, the Tutbury bull-running was instituted. On the feast of the Assumption a bull with horns, ears, and tail lopped off, its nostrils filled with pepper and its body well soaped, was turned loose to be caught within the manor bounds if possible. Although Tutbury Castle was the centre of so much gaiety, and the queen lived there until her death in 1390, the duke himself was not often in the Midlands. When in England, most of his time was spent in London at his Savoy Palace. The castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme and the borough benefited by their connection with Tutbury. In 1374 and 1375 extensive repairs were carried out at the castle. On 10 May, 1374, Oliver de Barton, esquire, was granted the offices of constable and steward of Newcastle-under-Lyme which Walter de Staunton had formerly held for life.<sup>6</sup> On 6 September of the same year, the constable was commanded to see that all the houses within the castle were repaired and put in as good a state as when the lady Maud had granted out the manor of the castle to Sir Godfrey Foljambe.<sup>7</sup> Evidently the constable reported that much timber would be required, for on 27 October, 1374, John instructed Sir Robert atte More, his receiver at Tutbury, and Oliver de Barton, to sell twenty oaks from the wood of Newcastle-under-Lyme, so

<sup>4</sup> John of Gaunt's Register, 809.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 613.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 850.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1538.

that the money obtained thereby could be used for repairing the castle of Newcastle.<sup>8</sup> Soon afterwards the terms by which Sir Godfrey Foljambe held the castle, manor, and borough were altered. He was induced to give up his farm of the manor on condition that he was guaranteed an annuity of £40, to be paid by the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle-under-Lyme from the farm of the borough and the mills, due in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas.<sup>9</sup> From his Savoy Palace next day, 26 November, 1374, the duke of Lancaster informed Oliver de Barton, the constable of the castle, and the mayor and bailiffs of the new arrangement and instructed the borough officers to pay the sum of £20 biennially. On 31 January, 1375, an enquiry was held under the superintendence of Oliver de Barton and the receiver of Tutbury as to the repairs needed in connection with the castle and the houses therein.<sup>10</sup> The good men and true found that the repairs required would cost no less than 100 marks, so that sum was ordered to be deducted from Sir Godfrey's annuity.<sup>11</sup> Then Sir Avery Sulny, chief forester of Needwood, was ordered to deliver from the park of Adgarley [Aggerslay] as much timber as would suffice to make 10,000 shingles for roofing the houses within the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Robert atte More, receiver of Tutbury, was to pay for making the shingles and also for the carriage of them to Newcastle.<sup>12</sup>

One other reference to Newcastle in the period covered by the published register of John of Gaunt (1372-76) relates to the customs of the borough. It had been found on enquiry that William de Brompton, burgess of Newcastle, and his wife Margery, and all her ancestors, were accustomed to have from time out of mind from each minstrel coming to the borough at the feast of St. Giles, 4½d., and similarly from each bear coming to the same town to be baited, so their accustomed rights were allowed and Sir Godfrey Foljambe was commanded to see that similar arrangements should be made for minstrels and bears at the castle as well as for the holy church.<sup>13</sup>

During John of Gaunt's overlordship of Newcastle there is one very long account of the revenues raised for the duke of Lancaster from his manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1386, and another account, though short, in 1399. An instructive comparison can be made between the value of the rents from the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1297<sup>14</sup> and the value of the

<sup>8</sup> John of Gaunt's Register, 1547.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 677.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1630.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1721.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1724 and 1725.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1105.

<sup>14</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 242-6.

same in the following detailed analysis of the account of William Bateson, provost of Newcastle in the tenth year of the reign of Richard II :—<sup>15</sup>

## NOVUM CASTRUM.

## ARREARS.

*Account of William Bateson, prepositus, 10 Richard II.*

Thomas Stable provost 7-8 Richd. II	£2	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Thomas Maceon provost 8-9 Richd. II	0	12	3
William Geffson provost 9-10 Richd. II	52	4	4
	<hr/>		
	£54	16	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ [sic]

## ASSESSED RENTS.

Penkhull	£15	10	9
Clayton and Seabridge	13	19	3
Fee-farm of vill of Knutton	4	11	6
Wolstanton	10	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shelton and Hanley	7	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Gendebogh	1	15	0
Adam Geffrey	0	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ancient rent	0	0	2
	<hr/>		
Total	£46	16	7 [sic]

## FEE-FARMS AND OTHER FARMS.

Farm of the burgesses with tolls of the market and fairs	£40	0	0
Fee-farm of the mills to the same burgesses	40	0	0
Herbage of Poolshead	0	16	0
Farm of herbage of Poolshead let to Geoffrey Stringer	0	2	0
Farm of the king's meadows let to the vill of Wolstanton	1	4	0
Farm of the king's meadows let to the burgesses of Newcastle	0	1	8
Ironstone mines let to Hugh Tunstall [he paid £1 6s. 8d.]	3	6	8
	<hr/>		
Carry forward	£85	10	4

<sup>15</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 6144, Bundle 367.

	<i>Brought forward</i>	£85	10	4
Mines of coal . . . . .		0	13	4
Passage of the Meir . . . . .		0	4	0
Farm of John Kene for 1 curtilage at Poolshead		0	0	6
Herbage of Poolshead . . . . .		0	1	8
Two views [of frankpledge] . . . . .		1	6	7½
Herbage of Castlecliff wood . . . . .		0	16	0
Herbage of 13 acres of land in Dudleyheth .		0	8	0
Farm of lands and tenement in Lyme of Thomas de Benteley . . . . .		1	15	0
Farm of herbage of Kingsfield with meadow of Wolforbridge of John Lyghtfot . . . . .		1	13	4
Farm of Seabridge Mill—now totally devastated		1	6	8
Works in Kingsmeadow . . . . .		0	6	8
		<hr/>		
Total [ <i>sic</i> ] . . . . .		£93	8	7½

## PERQUISITES OF THE COURT.

Perquisites of the Court	.	.	.	.	£5	18	0
And in preceding year	.	.	.	.	6	14	3
Divers fines	.	.	.	.	0	5	10
Perquisites of Bradnop Court	.	.	.		<i>Nil</i>		
(No court held this year.)							

## COSTS OF THE CASTLE.

In divers costs in the preceding year, work and carting . . . . .	£9	6	3½
In boards, nails, iron arches—for gates, windows of castle this year with mending 3 halls etc.	3	2	1
		<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£12	8	4½

## EXPENSES.

Provost's salary . . . . .	£1	0	0
Parchment, etc. . . . .	0	2	0
Abbot of Chester . . . . .	3	0	0
Odd exs. 4s. + 3s. 9d. . . . .	0	7	9
		<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£4	9	9

## PAYMENTS.

To John Halesweyn, Receiver of the Lord by Thomas del Stable recently provost, part arrears . . . . .	£1 0 0
To same by Willm. Geffson's arrears . . .	42 1 9
To same by Thomas Maceon's arrears . . .	2 0 0
To same by Wm. Bateson, provost . . .	98 0 0
Total [ <i>sic</i> ] . . .	£141 1 9

Total of all expenses etc. . . . . £157 19 10½  
And he owes £43 6s. 10½d. from which deduct 5s. *re* tenure  
in Lyne of Thomas Bentle.

And he owes £43 1s. 10½d. from which deduct 40s. paid to  
the Receiver.

And he owes £41 1s. 10½d. from which deduct £20 paid to  
the Receiver by the hands of Thomas Beek and John Ipstones,  
knights, the annuities granted to them.

And he owes £21 1s. 10½d.

The financial statement relating to Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1399 occurs in a long roll of the Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts,<sup>16</sup> when John Donyngton was provost in the county of Stafford from 23 Richard II to 1 Henry IV (1399-1400). He renders account of ten places, beginning with Tutbury and ending with Newcastle. The most important of the totals raised were : From Tutbury, £63 1s. 6d. ; from Marchington, £72 14s. 1d. ; from Uttoxeter, £73 5s. 7½d. ; from Newcastle-under-Lyme, £138 13s. The Staffordshire total was £572 3s. 5d. Here is the Newcastle statement :—

## RECEIPTS.

Assessed rents . . . . .	£46 16 7½
Farm of the borough, including tolls of fairs and markets . . . . .	40 0 0
Farm of the mills . . . . .	40 0 0
Other divers farms . . . . .	11 2 9½
Perquisites of courts or fines . . . . .	4 2 8
	£142 2 1

<sup>16</sup> No. 11987, Bundle 728.

## PAYMENTS.

Provost's fee . . . . .	£1	0	0
6s. necessary expenses . . . . .	0	6	0
And costs of bridge outside castle . . . . .	2	3	1
	<hr/>		
	£3	9	1
Paid into the treasury . . . . .	£138	13	0

This account occurs at the very beginning of the reign of Henry IV. The accession of John of Gaunt's son to the throne of England was not generally approved, therefore king Henry, in the first year of his reign, took the precaution of procuring an Act of Parliament whereby he secured for himself and his heirs all the Duchy of Lancaster estates, so that if he lost the crown he would not lose his property. Under the authority of this Act and two others, passed in the first year of Edward IV and the first of Henry VII, the duchy property is annexed in perpetuity to the person of the reigning sovereign and independently of the control of parliament. The opposition in the early part of Henry IV's reign does not appear to have affected Staffordshire, but in the same month that the earl of Northumberland was slain at Bramham Moor (27 February, 1408) his Staffordshire confederates were plundering and murdering up and down the county. The ringleaders were Hugh Erdeswicke and Thomas Swynnerton, and their activities were directed against the king's Lancastrian tenants and property in Staffordshire. When Sir John Blount, the steward and constable of Newcastle, came to hold a court leet in May, 1408, he was informed that Erdeswicke, Swynnerton, and a gang from the counties of Chester and Stafford had destroyed a poor widow's shop in the town of Newcastle and done other damage, so Thomas Thykenesse, the mayor, was ordered to hold an inquisition about the same.<sup>17</sup> The latter did not obey, alleging that his life would be in danger, and this was probably the case. Then Sir John Blount obtained a warrant against the ringleaders, but they chased him out of the county and turned their attention to John Boughay, who had dared to present them at Court Leet. He prudently took sanctuary at the church, so the gang went to Rocester, on their way to destroy the property of Sir John's mother, Dame Sanchia Blount at Barton Bakepuz, in county Derby. It is rather surprising to learn that a few years later Hugh Erdeswicke, having become reconciled to the officers

<sup>17</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. XVI, p. 84.

of the Duchy of Lancaster, served as M.P.<sup>18</sup> for Staffordshire, became a J.P. and was sheriff of the county in 1423-24. We get some idea of the extent of these gross disorders when we consider that the presentments heard before king Henry V at Easter, 1414, at Leicester and Lichfield, occupy forty large membranes at the Public Record Office in London, and that not one-tenth thereof is published in the William Salt Archaeological Society's volumes.<sup>19</sup> The overthrow of ordered government in Newcastle no doubt accounts for the abrupt stop in the borough minutes during the year 1411. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of information can be gleaned about the castle from the Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, which spread over the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV. In one earlier account,<sup>20</sup> 1386-87, the costs of repairs at the castle in the preceding year amounted to £9 6s. 3½d., and a further sum of £3 2s. 1d. was expended in Bateson's year of office on boards, nails, buckles, iron archways, etc., for the gates and windows of the castle along with the repair of three halls and payment for minor matters. At the beginning of Henry IV's reign the sum of £2 3s. 1d. was spent on the bridge outside the castle.<sup>21</sup>

In 1423 the fishing rights in the pool round the castle were let for sixteen shillings per annum; the wages of one mason for mending defects of the castle bridge and the walls of the tower for fifteen weeks at three shillings a week totalled up to forty-five shillings; two shillings for sharpening the mason's pick-axes; the wages for six labourers at the varying rates of 3d., 4d., or 5d. a day came to 15s. 9d.; John Kydde was paid 2s. 8d. for the carriage of eight cartloads of timber from Castlecliff to the castle for repairing the bridge there; for carriage of eighteen cartloads of sand, 2s. 3d.; for three-quarters of lime, 8s.; for a can, a pan, a trough, and a sieve connected with this work, 13d.; and 2d. paid as wages to a woman for carrying the lime into the castle, because the cart could not cross over the bridge.<sup>22</sup> Four years later<sup>23</sup> no rent was paid for Poolshead meadow, because it had been flooded by the overflow from the castle pool; the rent of the fishery of the castle pool was still 16s., paid by John Kyngsley, constable of the castle; Richard Sneyd supervised the work about the castle, and spent £8 11s. 4d. This sum sufficed for covering the roof of the tower next the gates with lead, making a passage

<sup>18</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1917-18, p. 178.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4, etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Vide* p. 119 of this chapter.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 2904, Bundle 183.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2907, Bundle 183.

on the north side of a hall, also a passage leading from the hall to the kitchen, also a new chimney in the room below the principal room, and repairing divers houses within the castle. Next year, still under the supervision of Richard Sneyd, new large gates for the castle were made.<sup>24</sup> The wages of the carpenters, sawyers, and labourers came to 79s. Twelve pounds of lead, costing 7s. 6d., were used to repair the roof of the tower, and a cartload of lime cost 11s. 8d. Ten years later,<sup>25</sup> John Kyngsley was still renting the fishery of the Castle Pool at 16s. Nothing seems to have been spent on the castle in this year, 1438-39, but workmen repaired the hedges and posts of Castlecliff. Robert Whitgreve was the steward and constable of the castle in 1445-46 when the palisades of the pinfold of the castle were repaired for 4d., and most extensive repairs to the mills were carried out.<sup>26</sup> In the latter half of the fifteenth century very little money was spent on the castle. In the thirteen Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, which cover at fairly regular intervals the years 1450-85, the only expensive repairs occurred in 1478-79, when divers repairs<sup>27</sup> within the castle cost £11. Before that date 20d. had been spent for carriage of timber to repair the bridge of the castle<sup>28</sup> in 1450; 6s. 2d. was paid in 1459<sup>29</sup> for seven loads of clay to repair various houses within the castle, and in 1477 the castle pool was repaired at a cost of 75s. 10d., and 12s. 2d. was spent on the pinfold.<sup>30</sup> At the beginning of Henry VII's reign nothing was expended on the castle, but in John Davson's account<sup>31</sup> the castle bridge and pool are incidentally mentioned. Also, in 1485, under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, John Alye had been granted the office of portership of the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme.<sup>32</sup> No doubt the national disorder brought about by the rival factions of Lancaster and York reacted on the royal castle and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme. In 1459, the year in which the battle of Bloreheath was fought, only 11 miles from Newcastle, Richard and William Mere, as provosts, in their financial account<sup>33</sup> of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, state that the burgesses were excused the payment of £20 due from the farm of the mills by reason of death, poverty, and waste. Also, £10 of the fee-farm of the borough was similarly respited. The introduction of cannon into late medieval warfare soon rendered

<sup>24</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 2908, Bundle 183.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2917, Bundle 184.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2934, Bundle 185.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2929, Bundle 184.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2940, Bundle 185.

<sup>33</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 2929, Bundle 184.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2921, Bundle 184.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2924, Bundle 184.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2933, Bundle 185.

<sup>32</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. VI, p. 375.

such low-lying castles as Newcastle incapable of sustaining even a short siege. They could be battered easily from the neighbouring heights. During Tudor times nothing was expended on the castle, and gradually it fell into decay. When Leland came through Newcastle, about 1541, he makes this observation: "All the castle is down, save one great towre."

When a jury was impanelled to survey<sup>34</sup> the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1615, presentment was made that Ralph Sneyd, esquire, held the site of the castle "altogether decayed," on lease for twenty-one years from 29 November, 1610. For 200 years the Sneyd family leased the castle site, and then on 28 August, 1828, Walter Sneyd of Keele bought from the king in right of his duchy "the site whereon the castle anciently stood, and all banks, mounds, ditches, bulwarks, etc., formerly called or known by the name of the Castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme."<sup>35</sup> Soon afterwards Mr. Sneyd reclaimed and drained the marshy land which in earlier times had been the castle pool. The following description of the castle was written in a copy of Chaucer's Poems published in 1602. The book was in the possession of a Newcastle bookseller 100 years ago, and the account of the castle was most likely written soon after 1610:—<sup>36</sup>

"There be manie that need be tould what John of Gaunt his Newcastle was, and will sore lament it now is not, to give the needy sojourner largess of bread, beef and beer. Our grandames doe say that their grandames did delight to tell what it had been, and how well it was counted off before their daye; althof they say onlie of it what they had bene tould; as how that the New Castle was no more nor 150 paces fro south to north, but well nigh two hundred from est to west; and had two transepts and four bays with dungen tower of twentie paces square, which rose in three stors of the full height of seventy feet; that it did stand over all the knoll in the midst of the picturesque vale and gentle rising hills, verie delightful and riche in pastur and woodlandes, and to the west and north remnants of diverse parkes belonginge. A low portal, and not well lighted passage, did admit to the halle, very large and spacious, with roof loftie, and painted with devices, gallerie for the minstrels, and the walls clothed with geer of warfare, helmets, coates of mail

<sup>34</sup> Ward, *Stoke-upon-Trent*, Appendix XXII.

<sup>35</sup> Coulam, *Newcastle-under-Lyme*, p. 34.

<sup>36</sup> Ward, *Stoke-upon-Trent*, p. 319.

armour, buff jerkins, like shirtes, and such like doublets. Wending a gloomy staircase did lead to the state rooms and bedd-chamber of the Prince, and other on the upper for companie. The Drawbridge to the north did approche into the Court, ninetie paces in length, with thirtie in the width, and south and west were two lesser. The walls outer had good buttresses to the height of thirty feet and the whole was moer fytt as a statelie comfortable dwellinge then as a fortress of defence, cause of the rising landes south and este. It almoste now is all carryed away, and Measter Sneyde doth hold the ground, and the mote, and the mills."

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE BOROUGH UNDER HENRY VII.<sup>1</sup>

DURING the fifteenth century the minute books of the corporation are extant only for the first and last decades. Between 1411 and 1491 the Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts deal mainly with the rents of the villages, which are now the pottery towns, included in the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, also the upkeep of the castle and the mills, but the only items which concern the borough are the fee-farm rent and the farm of the mills. So only incidentally in the national records, or occasionally in local documents, is any light thrown upon the blank darkness of the borough history during the reigns of Henry V, Henry VI, and Edward IV. Most of the references in the national records deal with the delinquencies of debtors or the rioting of malefactors, but such incidents throw no light on the development of the borough.

Two of these cases show that when John Kyngesley was constable of the castle he had no enviable time. In 1438 he was renting the fishery of the castle pool, and in 1443 he was prosecuting five inhabitants of Newcastle-under-Lyme who had collected a gang in the town, and who had illtreated him so cruelly that his life was despaired of.<sup>2</sup> A year later the constable sued seven other inhabitants of Newcastle who had been lying in wait to kill him, and who had so threatened his servants and tenants that for fear of their lives they were unable to perform their duties.<sup>3</sup> We have no record that the Newcastle people eventually succeeded in getting rid of the constable towards whom they had such murderous intentions, but in 1448 Robert Whitgreve was the steward and constable of the castle, and in 1453 John Kyngesley was still renting the castle pool fishery.<sup>4</sup>

In the reign of Henry VI (1438) the burgesses of Newcastle

<sup>1</sup> For this chapter the main source is the borough minutes, which begin again in 1491. See Appendix G.

<sup>2</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. III, N.S., p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Chap. XIV, p. 123.

received the grant of a fair to be held on the feast of St. Leonard (6 November).<sup>5</sup>

As the grant was made long after the various borough dues had been consolidated in the fee-farm rent, the profits were treated separately. In 1615 special mention is made in the presentment of the jury of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme that Richard Bagnall held by grant from queen Elizabeth "one parcel of meadow called Diglakes and the Tolls and Profits of one Fair in Newcastle-under-Lyme for one day in the Feast of St. Leonard and to the service of the Blessed Mary belongeth for 21 years and payeth for the meadow 6d. and for the Fair 3s. 4d."<sup>6</sup>

#### THE CHANTRY OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

The service of the Blessed Mary refers to the chantry founded in the chapel of St. Giles in 1392. The sum of sixteen marks was paid to the king by William Fulford and Richard Lylleshull, chaplains, for the alienation by them of 12 messuages, 6 tofts, 2 acres of land and 10 shillings of rent in Newcastle-under-Lyme, not held in chief, to a chaplain for celebrating divine service daily in the chapel of St. Giles for the good estate of all benefactors of the altar of St. Mary in the said chapel, and for their souls after death, as the mayor, bailiffs, and community thereof should order.<sup>7</sup> Among the benefactors to the altar of "Our Lady" in the chapel of St. Giles were the members of the butchers' craft gild, formed in 1510.<sup>8</sup>

The other chantry in the chapel of St. Giles was that of St. Katherine, the foundation of which has already been recorded.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE CHANTRY OF ST. KATHERINE.

In August, 1359, John de Doneham, who was then the chaplain of this chantry, granted to Henry Kuner a piece of land in the Ironmarket subject to a yearly rental of four shillings.<sup>10</sup> In the following February, Thomas, son of Richard de Newcastle, was instituted to this chantry of St. Katherine on the resignation of John Denham and at the presentation of Richard de Routhesleye.<sup>11</sup> Two more priests who served the chantry are recorded in the Lichfield Episcopal Registers, when in 1369 Richard de

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Rot. Chart. et Ing. quod damnum*, 1803, 17 Hen. VI, p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> Ward, *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*, Appendix, p. xliij.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-96, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Chap. X, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix G, p. 189.

<sup>10</sup> Fenton MSS.

<sup>11</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. X, Pt. II, N.S., p. 14.

Lilleshull was instituted on the death of Henry Stoyl.<sup>12</sup> It appears that in 1455 John Malbon was the chaplain serving the chantry of St. Katherine when he released to Hugh Egerton, esquire, and other burgesses of Newcastle, all claim to lands in the liberties of Newcastle and Clayton Griffin, which he had lately enjoyed together with Nicholas Derby, clerk, of the gift of Thomas Samfeld.<sup>13</sup>

We know from an agreement made in 1477, between the prior of Trentham and the mayor, the 24, and the community of Newcastle-under-Lyme, that the rights over certain common fields in Clayton Griffin included the lands that Thomas Samfeld gave to the use of the divine service of St. Katherine, and some land of William Breton held by the Newcastle authorities in fee-farm.<sup>14</sup> It was agreed that all these lands should be given up to Trentham Priory in exchange for two crofts lying under the Friars' Wood and two other "hayes" called Andrew's Hayes. The exchange was complicated by the further agreement that the mayor, the 24, and the burgesses of Newcastle should have inter-commoning in open time in all the lands, the boundaries of which were minutely given, but no common rights at any other time, or in any other season, or in any other lands in Clayton Griffin belonging to Trentham Priory. If the prior were to be deprived of his rights, then he could re-enter on the four hayes and crofts mentioned in the exchange. Evidently the monks of Trentham could now sow and reap crops in Clayton Griffin or Little Clayton on the lands which Samfeld and Breton had formerly held, but when the fences were thrown down after the harvest was gathered in, then the Newcastle burgesses as well as the Trentham monks could put their beasts to pasture on the stubble "in open time." This was agreed upon in January, 1477.

Six Newcastle burgesses, including a mercer, a baker, a nailer, and three shoemakers resented the change, for in the summer of 1477 they were summoned by the prior of Trentham for breaking into his closed lands at Little Clayton and depasturing cattle on his corn and grass.<sup>15</sup>

#### MAYORS FROM THE LOCAL GENTRY.

The 1477 agreement indicates that Hugh Egerton was then the mayor of Newcastle. He was also the mayor elected at the

<sup>12</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. X, N.S., Pt. II, p. 126.

<sup>13</sup> Fenton MSS.

<sup>14</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. XI, p. 329.

<sup>15</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, N.S., p. 100.

feast of St. Michael when the corporation records were resumed in 1490-91. He was born in 1426, the eldest son of Ralph Egerton of Wrinehill, in the parish of Madeley, by Elizabeth (*née* Mainwaring), and he married Mary, daughter of John Dutton of Dutton, Cheshire. In 1463, when he was indicted for leading 1000 men nine years before to the vill of Longford, county Derby, with intent to kill Walter Blount, armiger, he was described as a gentleman, late of Madeley. As he had prudently obtained the royal pardon for all insurrections and offences committed by him before he surrendered and then produced the king's letters patent at the trial, he was discharged.<sup>16</sup> In 1466, along with many of his near neighbours, he was sued by the countess of Shrewsbury for breaking into her property at Whitchurch and Blakemere.<sup>17</sup> He was the sheriff for Staffordshire in 1458-59 and in 1476-77, and he was J.P. on all but one of the commissions from 1471 to 1508.<sup>18</sup> He was entered on the last by mistake, as he died 28 April, 1505. When he was the mayor of Newcastle in 1490-91 a deputy-mayor in the person of John White was elected. He was again mayor in 1501-02, when Ralph Egerton, his son, was his deputy. The latter occupied the mayoral chair on four occasions, viz. in 1495-96, 1497-98, 1500-01, and 1516-17, two years before his death. Besides deputising for his father, he was the deputy-mayor for his cousin, Ralph Delves, in 1504-05. John, the father of Ralph Delves, who had married Elena, sister of Hugh Egerton, was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury. A stained glass window showing John Delves and his wife Elena, each displaying the family arms on surcoat and kirtle respectively, was formerly in Wybunbury church, Cheshire, but it is now in the south chancel window of Broughton church, near Eccleshall, County Stafford.

Ralph Delves was the mayor of Newcastle on two other occasions, in 1492-93 and in 1509-10. These three and Richard Wood, gentleman (most likely from Keele), seem to be the only mayors of Newcastle during the reign of Henry VII who were of the local gentry, and who did not serve any minor borough office. All the others were chosen from the most substantial burgesses residing within the borough.

The day for the elections was not altered from 100 years earlier; it was still the Tuesday after the feast of St. Michael.

<sup>16</sup> *S.H.C.*, Vol. IV, N.S., pp 123-4.

<sup>18</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1917-18, p. 266.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

## BAILIFFS AND SERJEANTS.

But changes had taken place in connection with the bailiffs and the serjeants. The pledges and the oaths were still the same, but now one bailiff was elected for the ruling 24 and the other for the community. Similarly, when the serjeants were elected, one was chosen for the community and the other for the mayor.

The bailiffs still collected the fee-farm rent due to the king: the formula of election implied it, and at Michaelmas, 1517, when John Hyndley was elected bailiff for the 24, his sureties had to find £40 "to paye the Kyng and save the Maior and the Towne harmeles."

The duty of guarding his prisoners and the king's gaol under penalty of fine for default was always assigned to the serjeant of the community. It seems to be a clerical slip when this duty on one occasion only—in 1493-94—was assigned to the *bailiff*, as well as the serjeant, of the community. In 1501-02 a burgess refused to serve the office of bailiff, therefore he was disfranchised. Next year a bailiff who had broken the gild rule and had been disfranchised was restored to his liberties on payment to the mayor of one pound of wax on Christmas Day. In the case of William Vernon, who was in 1508 elected bailiff for the 24, a special enactment was made that if he paid 20s. he need never serve as bailiff for the community.

The other borough officers besides the mayor, the bailiffs, and the serjeants who were regularly elected in the late fifteenth century were two constables, two receivers of money, two church wardens, and two wardens of the assize of bread and beer. All the officers on election took a special oath that they would do their duty and serve the interests of the borough. Only the two bailiffs and the serjeant for the community were required to find two securities each: the personal oath was deemed sufficient in the other cases.

When we come to analyse the way in which the chief burgesses served the borough offices, we see that in certain cases a definite order was observed. It was quite unusual for the ale-tasters or the serjeants to serve the offices of bailiff and mayor. One who aspired to the office of mayor had to serve first all the offices of churchwarden, receiver of money, constable, bailiff for the community, and bailiff for the 24, but it did not follow that one who served all these offices would therefore sometime become mayor. When a burgess was elected to the position of bailiff for the community, he will generally be found two years later as

bailiff for the 24. From 1490-91 to 1510-11 the rule was not followed on only three occasions, viz. 1499-1500, 1501-02, and 1508-09. Richard Meyre ought to have served in 1499-1500, but Richard Cooke was elected bailiff for the 24. In the same year there is a memorandum that Richard Meyre, for disobeying Thomas Vernon, the mayor, had been disfranchised, but now on his request and on payment of 20s., he was restored to his liberties.

In 1501-02 there is a note that Richard Thropp and John Hunt had been disfranchised because they had refused to serve the office of bailiff, so that accounts for the break of sequence in that year. In 1508-09 Richard Peike ought to have been elected the bailiff for the 24, but by special arrangement William Vernon served the office. In succeeding years the usual order was followed.

If we omit the Egertons of Wrinehill, their kinsman Ralph Delves, and Robert Wood, who were mayors elected irregularly, and also John Coke (mayor in 1491-92) and John Leigh (mayor in 1493-94 and in 1494-95), who occur too early for definite comparison, the only other burgesses who occupied the mayoral chair on the remaining sixteen occasions between 1490-91 and 1518-19 were seven in number: Richard Smith, Thomas Vernon, Thomas Byrche or Byrkes, John Leighton, John Richardson, William Vernon, and John Robins. We cannot follow fully the official careers of Richard Smith (who was mayor on four occasions) and Thomas Vernon, because they undoubtedly served in minor offices before 1490-91, but we can practically account for the latter's sequence of offices.

#### SEQUENCE OF OFFICES.

In 1490-91, when Vernon was bailiff for the 24, he accounted before the mayor for his previous office of receiver of money. In 1491-92 he was a churchwarden, and in 1492-93 a constable. He served the office of mayor on four occasions, viz. 1498-99, 1499-1500, 1503-04, and 1510-11. Therefore, in consecutive years, his offices were: bailiff for the community,<sup>19</sup> receiver of money, bailiff for the 24, churchwarden, and constable. Six years later he was mayor for the first time. Thomas Byrche or Byrkes was a churchwarden before 1490-91, as he was then accounting for that office. In consecutive years, from Michaelmas 1493, to the same festival in 1497, he served as: (1) bailiff for

<sup>19</sup> *Vide* proof on p. 132, cf. Appendix G.

the community, (2) churchwarden, (3) bailiff for the 24, (4) receiver of money, and (5) constable. Five years later he was mayor for the first time. Thomas Vernon was mayor in all on four occasions, and Byrche on three.

John Leighton no doubt was the bailiff for the community in 1489-90,<sup>20</sup> and in the four following years in order he served the offices of churchwarden, bailiff for the 24, receiver of money, and constable. Twelve years later (1506-07), for the first and only time, he was mayor. No deduction is required in John Richardson's case. In the six consecutive years, beginning with the election at Michaelmas, 1504, he served in order as: (1) receiver of money, (2) bailiff for the community, (3) receiver of money, (4) bailiff for the 24, (5) churchwarden, and (6) constable during 1509-10. Once only was he mayor, viz. in 1512-13.

William Vernon was a receiver of money in 1507-08. Perhaps he was related to Thomas Vernon, and so by influence and a contribution to the common chest, a special bye-law was made whereby he need never serve the office of bailiff for the community. That was in 1508-09, when he was elected to the office of bailiff for the 24. Two years later he was a constable, and after another two years' interval he was a churchwarden, and in the following year, 1513-14, he was mayor.

John Robins, who became mayor of the borough, was elected a burgess either in 1495-96 or 1499-1500. In consecutive years, beginning at Michaelmas, 1501, he served as (1) bailiff for the community, (2) receiver of money, (3) bailiff for the 24, (4) churchwarden, and (5) constable. He was mayor of the borough in 1515-16 and in 1518-19.

From these examples we can see that in Henry VII's reign and early Tudor times a burgess of Newcastle who served the office of bailiff for the community was usually required to serve in the following year as a receiver of money or churchwarden, then as bailiff for the 24, and in the next two years he must be in office for the two posts out of three—receiver of money, churchwarden and constable—which he had not already served. Only those who had carried out at least five years' of onerous duties in this way were eligible to serve as mayor.

#### ELECTION OF BURGESSES.

During the eleven years from 1490-91 to 1500-01 only twenty-four burgesses were elected. The fees paid were two of 26s. 8d.,

<sup>20</sup> *Vide* proof on p. 131, cf. Appendix G.

one of 13s. 4d., one of 12s., twelve of 10s., two of 11s. ; in five cases no fee is stated.

A woman who was elected in 1498-99 had to pay 5s. whether she got married or remained single. In most cases residence within the borough was a condition of election.

In conclusion let us see how the ruling council was elected. There was an oligarchical 24 which elected one bailiff, the other bailiff representing the community. In the very first year of the resumed borough records, after the elected officers are entered up, eleven names occur under a title which means that these men represented the 24. Immediately below, another group—twelve in number—represented the community. Perhaps this combined assembly elected the officers. After the election of a burgess the mayor and his "brethren" passed the receivers' and churchwardens' accounts. Then an ordinance about the gaps to be used for entering the common fields was made by the mayor, his aldermen, "with the great Inquest and the small with a whole assent and consent." This is the first entry in English. After another English entry enjoining the mayor to see that no man should bear unlawful weapons within the town, we are introduced at the Court Leet to the Great and the Small Inquests, each consisting of twelve men. The remaining business for the year 1490-91 entered in the minutes consists of the restoration to their freedom of eight burgesses who had been disfranchised, also of financial matters, chiefly churchwardens' accounts, and of debts incurred by two men and three children for lying in the church, followed by the final entry that "Thomas Byvenson and Richarde Patson haue a parcell of sope theirfore"—a case of cleanliness next to godliness!

When the burgesses were restored to their freedom it was stated that they had been disfranchised by the mayor and his "counsell," but they were restored by the mayor and the 24. Did the council that punished the obstreperous burgesses consist of an equal number of representatives from the 24 and from the community? Of the eleven who represented the 24, eight were on the Great Inquest, the first four on the list of twelve representing the community made up the remainder of the Great Inquest. The Small Inquest consisted of six men, who represented the community, and six new names. In 1491-92 John Worsley dropped out of the committee of the 24, and his place was taken by Edward Royley, who represented the community in the previous year. In 1492-93 James Madeley's name was added to the eleven representing the 24, and Thomas Clayton

took the place vacant thereby on the committee of the community. In the same year the Great Inquest and the Small, with the mayor and his brethren, with assent and consent appointed four special church overseers.

#### METHOD OF ELECTION.

In 1495-96, when Ralph Egerton was mayor, a special regulation was made for the annual election of officers, because there had been trouble and variance by the demeaning of "the election" (electing committee) of the commonalty.<sup>21</sup> The mayor and two of his wealthiest and worthiest brethren were to choose four of the best of the 24 dwelling within the town. These so chosen were to make choice of the best of the commonalty (number not stated), and they were together to elect a mayor from the 24 dwelling within the town and all other officers. If there were any dispute or grievance it was to be settled by the original six and such of the 24 as they might co-opt.

Next year at a great court Sir Hugh Smith was allowed to enclose Andrew's hay and pay an annual rent of four shillings. This was agreed to at the Court Leet by the mayor and his brethren, with a whole assent and consent of the commonalty. Twelve men seem to have been elected to represent the community or commonalty. Then a regulation about any arrested person finding bail was passed by the great Inquest and the Small with the mayor and his brethren, and with a whole assent and consent. This formula is almost identical with the list of those who passed the regulation about the common gaps in 1490-91. On that occasion the mayor's brethren were called aldermen. In another regulation, made at a Court Leet in 1497-98, the aldermen were called the mayor's brethren.

When a bellman was elected for the borough in 1500-01, his appointment was made by the mayor, the bailiffs, the aldermen, the 24, and the commonalty.

But the most illuminating list of those transacting borough business occurs at Michaelmas, 1508, when William Vernon was irregularly elected to serve as bailiff for the 24. The following persons made the special arrangement: (1) Randull Eggerton; (2) John Leighe; (3) Richarde Smythe; (4) Thomas Vernon; (5) John Leighton; (6) Richard Patson; (7) John Rane, senior;

<sup>21</sup> "Commonalty" was the English term which was Latinised as *Communitas*. "Community," however, is usually a less ambiguous translation of the latter.

(8) Roger Bagnald ; (9) William Coldall ; (10) Richard Meare ; (11) John Matson ; (12) John Robyns ; (13) James Smyth ; (14) Thomas Clayton ; (15) John Cowper ; (16) John Richardson ; (17) Radulphus Bagnald. According to the 1495-96 regulation, "the election," i.e. electing committee, ought to have chosen the bailiff for the 24, but obviously it did not. The first five had already served the office of mayor, and were the mayor's brethren or aldermen. Three of them were still aldermen in 1520.<sup>22</sup> The remaining twelve appear to be the committee of the 24 acting with the aldermen to choose a new bailiff. Perhaps as this matter concerned only the 24, their committee practically decided the choice. For immediately after William Vernon's election as bailiff the committee of the 24 is named. It consists of fourteen names, the first twelve identical with the last twelve of the electors, while the remaining two were the bailiffs.

From a consideration of all these extracts it will be seen that the oligarchy of 24, which along with the mayor transacted most of the borough business during the lordship of John of Gaunt and Henry IV, was not so powerful in the reign of Henry VII. During the interval the townspeople had gained some share in the government of the borough. The "community" now elected their own bailiff and their own serjeant, and a committee of the commonalty, along with the committee of the 24, formed the borough council. But the change was not quite so democratic as at first sight might appear. Occasionally we find that a regulation is made with the assent of the whole community, such as permission to enclose a piece of town land in 1496-97, the appointment of a bellman in 1500-01. In 1515-16 the mayor and his brethren, with the full consent of the whole borough, agree that the town is to repair half the booth from the ridging downwards, and St. Katherine's priest the other half. Five years later the mayor and the whole borough grant permission for the founding of a malt mill within the borough. Also, when a burgess in 1536-37 rented some town land, he did so with the whole consent of the borough. But these instances are unusual, and only occur at long intervals.

Even the committee of the community on the borough council, which excluded the mass of citizens from all voice in the assembly, had no share in framing some of the borough ordinances.

<sup>22</sup> Borough Records. At a great court held in September, 1520, "John Bagnald, maior, Randull Eggerton, Tho: Vernon, John Leighton, John Richardson, and John Robyns, aldermen, with the 24 and counsell haue seen the house," etc.

Sometimes the mayor acted with a small number of aldermen, often denoted as his "Brethren," to the exclusion of the whole council. Only the mayor and his brethren pass the accounts of the receivers' and churchwardens; they decide who shall be tenants for the borough shops; they allow some favoured burgesses to borrow money from the common church box, and they appoint the church ringers. Also, the part taken by the Great Inquest and the Small should be noticed. The former was doubtless the Leet jury, and the latter perhaps a jury of trial *inter præsentes*.<sup>23</sup> They are concerned not only with regulating field usage (1491-92), but also with the election of certain officers (1493-94), with the question of bond for arrested persons (1496-97), with the serving of estreats (1497-98), with foreigners paying market toll (1502-03), and so on. The mayor and aldermen act with them apparently to the exclusion of the council, and this has a democratic tendency, in so far as some members of the Small Inquest were not on the 12 of the community in the council. In some manorial boroughs, like Manchester, there was a tendency of the leet juries to take over the government of the town, but this tendency was checked in Newcastle by the development of the election committee and the elected council. In 1495-96, when the election committee was first appointed, the mayor and two substantial brethren were to choose four of the best of the 24, and these four (or six) were to add an unstated number (though four seems to be implied) from the best of the commonalty. In the irregular election of William Vernon as bailiff of the 24 in 1508, this special election committee, as already shown, did not function. In 1571-72 a special ordinance was made by both Inquests with the consent of the mayor and the bench that no man should be elected on the council of the town except by the sworn men chosen to govern the elections. In 1573-74 we are definitely told that there were eight sworn men when they elected three men to fill up in succession vacancies as they occurred on the council. In 1578-79 the names of the eight sworn men of the election committee are given, and in 1586-87 we are informed that the council of the town was elected by a committee of eight, four being chosen from the 24 and four from the council [*sic*].

By the charter of Elizabeth, granted to the borough 18 May, 1590, the election committee was abolished. Henceforth the borough council was to consist of 24 burgesses known as "Capital

<sup>23</sup> *Vide* Appendix J, p. 196; cf. Clemesha, *Court Book of Bramhall*, Chet. Soc. *Miscellany*, N.S., Vol. 80.

Burgesses," in the first instance nominated in the charter, and thereafter, when a vacancy occurred, the Capital Burgesses exercised the right of co-option.

So we see that at the close of medieval times in Newcastle under-Lyme there was a tendency for the upper and middle classes of the borough to combine and make themselves as independent as possible of the people over whom they ruled.



## APPENDICES.

### APPENDIX A.

#### SETTLEMENT OF A DISPUTE RESPECTING THE CHAPELS OF NEWCASTLE AND WHITMORE : 1175-82.

(Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, London, 1702, p. 22.)

SUBSCRIPTAM Transaccionem super controversia diu habita inter Priorem et Canonicos de Trentham et Robertum de Costentin super Capellis Novi Castelli et Witemor praesentis paginae continencia manifestat ; videlicet :—

Quod praenominatus Robertus aparuit in praesentia domini Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis conquerens super injuria a praenominatis Canonicis sibi illata, postulans a domino Archiepiscopo secundum juris normam sibi satis fieri ; et quia ipse non potuit interesse constituit quendam procuratorem, videlicet, Vivianum de Stoch et decisorem totius litis, et misit eum in manum domini Archiepiscopi, ratum habiturus quicquid Vivianus inde finiret ; Quod idem Vivianus literis et scripto domini Archiepiscopi, insuper et viva voce Episcopi Coventrensis constare fecit. Ea propter convenerunt Canonici et praedictus Vivianus in praesentia Episcopi Coventrensis in plena sinodo et in hoc modo composuerunt : Quod praenominatus Prior et Canonici concesserunt Capellam de Witemor Viviano tota vita sua tenendam, singulis annis reddendo unum talentum auri vel duos solidos matrici Ecclesiae. Insuper praenominata Ecclesia retinet sepulturam et caritatem panis cum oblatione et denarios Sancti Petri et caetera episcopalia : prima testamenta mortuorum et caeterae omnes obventiones remanent Viviano cum Capella : E converso Vivianus pro Roberto et pro se quietam penitus clamat Capellam Novi Castelli, tali tenore, quod si praedictus Robertus de Costentin aliquando inceperit redvivam litem contra hanc compositionem tam solempniter terminatam et Vivianus dictas capellas Canonicis contra Robertum de Costentin guarantizare nequiverit, imprimis Vivianus reddet capellam Witemorae penitus absolutam Canonicis, et pro poena X marcas, et cum Canonicis stabit contra praenominatum Robertum : Et pro hac concessione supradictus Vivianus Ecclesiae de Trentham clericus effectus, fidem se laturum matrici Ecclesiae tactis sacris affirmavit, et cartam quam Robertus de Costentin habuit de Canonicis de praedictis capellis reddet, pro posse suo fideli, Canonicis de Trentham et ad expensas eorundem ibit, et stabit cum illis in negotiis suis, et fidele consilii juvamen praestabit ubi per illum promoveri sperabunt ; et item Vicarius qui ministrabit in Capella Witemorae, per supranominatum Vivianum praesentabitur Priori et Canonicis, et cautionem dabit de praesentis scripti pacto tenendo sine dolo matrici Ecclesiae. Isti sunt testes et fidejussores de X marcis ; Alanus Archidiaconus de iij marcis, Robertus Decanus de ij marcis, Johannes de Colwich de ij marcis, Robertus de Diftune de j marca, Henricus de Nortuna de j marca.

## APPENDIX B.

INQUISITION RESPECTING NEWCASTLE AND MANOR<sup>1</sup> (*Translated*).Temp. Henry III, *circiter* 1249.

AN Inquisition made concerning the value of *Newcastle* and the Manor, by the Lord Vivian de Standon, Thomas de Bedulf, William de Hanlee, Robert de Holedich, William de Baddelee, John de Honeford, William de Bromlee, Elyas de Bromlee, Thomas de Claiton, Robert Baron, Robert son of Vivian, Hugh son of Richard, Robert Routhislee, and Thomas son of Godwin, who say that the yearly rent of Newcastle in burgages and other lands is 12 marks and 5s. ; the oven of the same vill is worth £5 ; the pleas with the market toll and other profits are 19 marks and 20d., saving to the Lord the King the pleas of bloodshed from Saturday morn until Monday. Total<sup>2</sup> £26 13s. 4d. They also say that the Mill of the said vill is worth by the year £16.

Also, they say that the Lord the King has, in demesne in the vill of Penchul, one carucate of land with appurtenances which the men of the same vill hold and render therefor yearly 15s. Also the same men of Penchul hold 8½ virgates of land and render therefor yearly 34s. Also the men of Penchul hold 8 bovates of bondmen lands for 20s. 8d. Also William Muriel holds in the vill of Penchul the field of Caldhoek of the King's demesne and renders by the year 7s. and 4s.

Also they say that the Lord the King has in demesne in the vill of Wolstonton 2 virgates of land, which the men of the same vill hold and render yearly 11s. Also the men of the same vill hold 2½ virgates of land and render therefor by the year 10s. 6d. Also the bondmen of the same vill hold 4 bovates of land and render therefor by the year 8s. Also for certain meadows 2s. 6d. Also for assarts in the same vill 30s. 5d.

Also they say that the men of Selton [Shelton] hold 9½ virgates of land, and render by the year 28s. 7d. Also for a certain assart 2d. Also for a mill one mark. Also they say that the men of Clayton hold 4 virgates of land, and render therefor by the year 15s. 4d. Also they say that the men of Seeperug [Seabridge] hold one virgate of land, and render therefor by the year 4s. Also for assarts 12s. 4d. Also for a mill one mark. Also of Boterton, for pasture 2s. Also of rent for Stafford 12d. Also in ploughing, harrowing and reaping in the Manor 20s. 6d., and in the King's meadows 25s. Also they say that the men of Newcastle hold certain lands within the vill and render therefor yearly 7s. 10d. Also they say that the vill of Knutton renders by the year £4 11s. 6d. ; also of Fenton 7s. ; and for one acre of land at Bothes 4d. Also of Hanley 6s. ; also of Langeton 5s. Also of pleas, bequests of the dead, and other perquisites of the Manor of Newcastle, according to estimation £6. Also of Frankpledge 25s. 3½d. ; also of advowsons one mark. Total of the whole £31 19s. 0½d.

<sup>1</sup> *S.H.C.*, 1911, pp. 145-6. See above, Chap. IV, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Total amounts to £26.



[illegible]

## APPENDIX C.

NEWCASTLE'S CHARTER OF THE GILD MERCHANT, ETC., 18 SEPTEMBER, 1235.<sup>1</sup>

(*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Vol. I, p. 213.)

HENRICUS Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie, Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis *Salutem* SCIATIS nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris burgensibus nostris de Nova Castro subtus Lymam quod villa nostra de Novo Castro subtus Lymam sit liber burgus et quod burgenses eiusdem ville habeant gildam mercatoriam in eodem burgo cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad huiusmodi gildam pertinentibus et quod eant per totam terram nostram cum omnibus mercandisis suis emendo et vendendo et negociando bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice et quod quieti sint de thelonio passagio pontagio stallagio et lestagio et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus salvis in omnibus libertatibus civitatis nostre London. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicta villa nostra de Novo Castro sit liber burgus et quod burgenses eiusdem ville habeant gildam mercatoriam in eodem burgo cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad huius modi gildam pertinentibus et quod eant per totam terram nostram cum omnibus mercandisis suis emendo et vendendo et negociando bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice et quod quieti sint de thelonio passagio pontagio stallagio et lestagio et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus salvis in omnibus libertatibus civitatis nostre London sicut praedictum est. Hiis testibus Gulielmo de Ferrariis, Gulielmo de Cantilupo, Radulpho filio Nicholai, Almarico de Sancto Amando, Galfrido Despensatore, Radulpho Tyrel et aliis. Datum per manum venerabilis Patris Radulphi Ciestrensis Episcopi Cancellarii nostri apud Feckeham decimo octavo die Septembris anno regni nostri decimo nono.

## APPENDIX D.

TRANSLATION OF CHARTER GRANTING TRINITY FAIR, 27 MAY, 1281.<sup>2</sup>

(*From photograph of original in custody of the Town Clerk.*)

EDWARD, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, constables, ministers and all bailiffs and his faithful subjects GREETING Know ye that by this our charter we have granted and confirmed at the request of our dearest brother Edmund to the burgesses and the present men of his town of Newcastle-under-Lyme that they and their successors, the men of the same town, may have in perpetuity a fair in that town during three days, to wit, upon the eve, the day, and the morrow of the feast of the Holy Trinity and so that such fair shall not be to the injury of neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we will and command for us and our heirs that the aforesaid burgesses and their successors, the men of the said town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, may have in perpetuity a Fair in the said town with all liberties and free customs to such a fair belonging

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chap. VI, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. VIII, p. 57.

and so that such fair shall not be to the injury of the neighbouring fairs as aforesaid. These being witnesses : the Venerable R. Bath and Wells and W. Norwich, bishops ; Henry de Lacy, William of Valence, Roger de Mortuomari, Robert de Tylecot, Hugh Fitz Otto, Robert Fitz John, Peter de Hu.[—]gefeld and others. Dated under our hand at Westminster the twenty-seventh day of May in the ninth year of our reign.

## APPENDIX E.

CHARTER GRANTED BY THE MAYOR AND COMMUNITY OF NEWCASTLE TO EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER, 1293-1296.<sup>1</sup>

(J. Ward, *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*, 1843, Appendix XXI.)

OMNIBUS ad quos praesens scriptum pervenerit, Maior et Communitas Burgi de Novo Castro subtus Lymam salutem SCIATIS quod cum vendicaremus tenere praedictum Burgum cum pertinentiis ad feodi firmam, reddendo quadraginta marcas per annum ; ac nobilis vir dominus noster Edmundus filius Henrici regis Anglie dixisset et intellexisset quod nos nihil iuris haberemus ad tenendum dictum Burgum ad feodi firmam, immo ad voluntatem suam tantum modo ; Et super hoc dissentio suscitata fuisset : Nos iuris cuiuslibet si quod habuimus vel habere potuimus in hac parte omnino renuntiantes concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod praedictus Edmundus et haeredes sui habeant et teneant praedictum Burgum, cum feria ad festum sancti Egidii, mercatis, tolnetis, perquisitis curiae, antiquis firmis, burgagiis,<sup>2</sup> aula gilde,<sup>3</sup> furnis, seldis arentatis, et aliis quibuscunque ad dominium eiusdem Burgi pertinentibus quoquo modo ; Ita quod idem dominus Edmundus et haeredes sui de cetero inde ordinent et disponant pro sua voluntate tanquam de iure suo, salvis nobis et haeredibus nostris omnibus libertatibus nobis et haeredibus concessis per cartas domini regis Henrici praedicti et domini regis Edwardi filii regis ipsius Henrici. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune huic scripto apposuimus : Hiis testibus, dominis Waltero de Helyon, Rogero Brabanzonis, Willielmo Wyther, Willielmo de Estafford, Roberto de Pype, Ricardo de Draycote, Roberto de Estafford militibus, Waltero de Rading, et Rogero Brabanzonis clericis.

[*Extracted from the Great Coucher Duchy Office, Vol. II, fol. 88 and 89.*]

## APPENDIX F.

MINUTES OF ELECTIONS OF BOROUGH OFFICERS, ETC., 1369-1411.

(*In the custody of the Town Clerk.*)

1368 [*rectius* 1369-70].

Fol. 6.

Rogerus Letys electus est maior ville Novicastro subter Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum Anglie xliii<sup>o</sup> ad faciendum de iure omnia que ad officium suum pertinent durante termino suo. Et super hoc fecit

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. VIII, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> burgagiorum ; *Ward*.

<sup>3</sup> aulagilda : *Ward*.

sacramentum; et iste est tertius annus quo idem Rogerus in maiorem est electus.

Thomas Symonde et Nicholaus de Camera electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville anno et die supradictis ad faciendum de iure omnia que ad officium suum pertinent et fecerunt sacramentum. Et super hoc solverunt pre manibus xx marcas argenti. Et preter hoc solvent domino Johanni Duci Lancastrie vel ballivis suis ibidem firmam debitam dicte ville et de iure consuetam terminis usualibus. Et super hoc salvabunt maiorem et communitatem eiusdem ville pro dicta firma versus dominum ducem prefatum atque ballivos suos, pro omnibus iniuriis per se factis durante termino suo versus quoscumque indempnes. Et ad hoc faciendum sive fideliter implendum invenerunt plegios viz. Thomas Symond, Robertum de Bykerstegh et Walterum Fox et Nicholaus de Camera, Ricardum de Launden' et Johannem de Ecleshalle.

Willelmus Michell' electus est serviens a<sup>o</sup> et die supradictis et fecit sacramentum ad officium suum fideliter serviendum. Et super [hoc] invenit plegios viz. Ranulphum Michel seniore, Johannem Roper, Johannem Bretton et Willelmum Petrycke ad salvandum maiorem et communitatem eiusdem ville pro omnibus iniuriis per se factis durante termino suo indempnes versus quoscumque.

Hugo de Bokenar' et Adam de Gravenhonger electi sunt custodes et tastatores <sup>1</sup> panis et servisie et fecerunt sacramentum suum ad tastandum <sup>2</sup> fideliter panem et servisiam in quocumque loco contingat vendi durante termino suo et fideliter presentandum ubicumque defectus invenerint.

Item eodem die et anno receptus est ad libertatem ville <sup>3</sup> David le Shermon et manebit in villa continuo vel aliter privabitur libertate et solvit pro libertate sua unam marcā.

Item Willelmus de Colborne eodem die et anno receptus est ad libertatem ville et solvit pro eadem unam marcā.

Item Nicholaus Snelle eodem die et anno receptus est ad libertatem ville et solvit pro eadem xs.

Item Willelmus Trumon eodem die et anno receptus est ad libertatem ville utendus arte sua et solvit pro eadem xs.

Et memorandum quod quilibet eorum solvet in festo Natalis Domini proxime nunc sequente dimidiam marcā.

Item Thomas Simond et Nicholaus de Camera pro communi aula dimidiam marcā.

Memorandum quod die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis anno eodem quo Rogerus Letys tertio est electus in maiorem reposite sunt in communi cista viginti marce.

Item Adam le Smyth receptus est ad libertatem ville eodem anno sub **Fol. 6** tali condicione quod manebit in villa continuo. Et si non fecerit vel rebellis **verso.** seu deceptuosus maiori et communitati inventus fuerit, penitus privabitur eadem libertate; et solvet pro libertate sua xxs.

Item Johannes de Halin' receptus est ad libertatem ville eodem anno sub eadem condicione antedicta et solvet pro libertate sua xxs.

Item Willelmus quondam famulus Thome Heppe receptus est ad libertatem eadem condicione predicta et solvet xxs.

Item Willelmus de <sup>4</sup> Wytemor cissor receptus est ad libertatem ville eodem anno sub eadem condicione et solvet xs.

Item Willelmus le Locksmyth filius Henrici le Locksmyth receptus est ad libertatem ville eadem condicione et solvet pro libertate sua xiiis. iiiid.

Item Johannes filius Thome de Penkull receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte et solvet xiiis. iiiid.

<sup>1</sup> castratores, MS.

<sup>2</sup> castrand', MS.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin opposite this and subsequent lists of admissions to the liberty is written Burgs, i.e. burgenses (or burgensis),

<sup>4</sup> et, MS.

Item Johannes Lawrenc' receptus est ad libertatem condicione eadem et solvet pro eadem xxs.

Item Johannes Mariott receptus est ad libertatem ville condicione eadem et solvet pro libertate sua xxs.

Item Philipote Irenta recepta est ad libertatem ville et si habuerit virum ante finem eiusdem anni solvet xliis. iiii*d*. Si vero non fuerit desponsata ante finem termini unius anni solvet tunc pro libertate sua xxs.

Et etiam in predicta communi cista ix*li*. vs.

## Fol. 7.

Anno Domini 1369 [1370-71].

Rogerus Letys electus est maior ville Novi castri subter Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum xliiii<sup>o</sup> ad faciendum [as on p. 142 above]. Et iste est quartus annus ex quo idem Rogerus est in maiorem electus.

Memorandum quod anno et die supradictis remanet in communi cista xli. xliis. iiii*d*. et in diversis manibus ex debitis ix*li*. xvs. viii*d*. Item de Thoma Cachpulle ix*s*. et Henrici [*sic*] Locksmyth ix*s*.

Nicholaus de Chamera et Willelmus de Thickenesse junior electi sunt ballivi eodem anno et die supradictis ad faciendum, etc. [as on p. 143 above, but omitting: "et super hoc solverunt pre manibus xx marcas argenti," and adding "et defaltis" after "iniuriis"]. Et ad hoc faciendum sive fideliter implendum invenerunt plegios, viz. pro Nicholao de Camera Johannem de Lylleshull et Thomam Symond' et pro Willelmo de Thickenesse Ricardum Bonteable et Radulphum Mychell.

Adam de Gravenhonger electus est serviens, etc. [as on p. 143 above]. Et super hoc invenit plegios, viz. Hugonem de Anderton et Adam de Prestbery ad salvandum, etc. [as on p. 143].

Hugo de Bolmor et Willelmus Perik' electi sunt custodes et tastatores<sup>1</sup> panis et cervisie, etc. [as on p. 143 above].

Johannes Maryott recepit firmam communis pistrine et solvet pro dicta firma xls. et [fecit sacramentum ad] fideliter serviendum maiori et communitati in omnibus que ad officium suum pertinent durante termino suo sub pena que incumbit.

Memorandum quod die et anno supradictis Johannes de Fenton perquisivit libertatem ville Novi Castri sub tali condicione quod si recedat de villa amittet suam libertatem et solvet pro libertate xxs.

Johannes Lovott receptus est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione et solvet unam marcam. Johannes Byrchwoode receptus est, etc. [on same terms as Lovott].

Johannes Pypott receptus est ad libertatem ville ex dono maioris et communitatis, si bene se gerat.

Fol. 7  
verso.

Johannes de le Heth receptus est, etc., sub condicione eadem ut Johannes Lovott et solvet xxs.

Johannes le Bowyer receptus est ad libertatem ville et solvet xls. et inde maior et communitas dederunt Henrico de le Delves xxs.

Ricardus de Yorke<sup>2</sup> receptus est ad [eandem<sup>3</sup>] libertatem ville Novi castri die Mercurii proximo post festum Exaltacionis sancte Crucis anno xlv<sup>to</sup> sub tali condicione quod trahet moram suam in villa predicta et solvet xxs. de quibus solvit dimidiam marcam et una marca est a retro.

Rogerus de Londe receptus est ad libertatem ville die Martis proximo post festum sancti Matthei eodem anno sub tali condicione quod trahat moram suam in villa.

Johannes de Westburye receptus est, etc. [as Londe] et solvit dimidiam marcam.

<sup>1</sup> castratores, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Pyke crossed out in MS.

<sup>3</sup> eandem crossed out in MS.





1370 [1371-72].

Fol. 8.

Ricardus de Launedon electus est maior ville Novicacstri subter Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis [archangeli] anno [regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum] xlv<sup>o</sup> ad faciendum etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum"].

Willelmus de Thickenesse junior et Henricus de Werkeston electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "pertinent"], durante termino [eorum] Et super hoc invenerunt plegios, viz. pro Willelmo de Thickenesse Thomam de Podmore et Walterum Fox, pro Henrico de Werkaston Johannem de Lylleshull et Nicholaum de Camera. Et solvent domino Duci [Lancastrie], etc. [as on p. 143 above, but omitting "et de iure consuetam," also "Lancastrie atque ballivos suos . . . versus," and adding after "termino eorum" ("suo" on p. 143) "Et super hoc invenerunt predictos plegios"].

Willelmus Smythies clericus receptus est ad libertatem ville Novicacstri subter Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis anno xlv<sup>o</sup> sub tali condicione quod erit promptus maiori et communitati quoad officium maioris.

Johannes Hachelmaker receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte sub tali condicione quod utetur arte sua et manebit in villa. Et si utatur aliquo alio mercimonio [et] vel recedat de villa amittet libertatem.

Anno et die predictis Johannes de Newhall receptus est, etc. [on same terms as Hachelmaker].

Johannes de Wygan receptus est ad libertatem ville die Martis proximo post festum Epiphanie anno xlv<sup>to</sup> sub tali condicione quod utetur sua propria arte et nulla alia et morabitur in villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam et solvet xxs. ad Pascham et ad festum Michaelis per equales porciones, plegiis Willelmo de Thickenesse Henrico de Warkston'.

1371 [1372-73].

Fol. 8  
verso.

Willelmus de Thickenesse junior electus est maior Novicacstri subter Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum xlv<sup>to</sup>. Ad faciendum, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum"].

In debitis ville *vili*. viis. *iid*.

Johannes Kene et Walterus Fox electi sunt ballivi die et anno supradictis, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "invenerunt plegios," adding after "pertinent" "durante eorum termino"], invenerunt plegios, viz. pro Johanne Keyne Thomam Symond et Hugonem de Anderton, pro Waltero Fox Johannem de Lulleshull Nicholaum de Camera.

Hugo de Bolmor et Johannes Attoncastell electi sunt custodes panis et servisie die et anno supradictis. Et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum fideliter attastandi<sup>1</sup> et presentandi defectus assisie ubicumque et quotienscumque invenerint.

Adam de Gravenhonger electus est serviens, etc. [as on p. 143 above, only to "serviendum"].

Dominus Henricus de Cavreswall capellanus receptus est ad libertatem ville Novicacstri subter Lymam die Veneris in vigilia sancti Dionysii martyris anno supradicto.

Rogerus le Hewster receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte die et anno supradictis.

Johannes le Wrotche receptus est, etc. [as Hewster].

Johannes Huett, smyth, receptus est, etc. [as Hewster].

Ricardus del Foorde receptus est, etc. [as Hewster].

<sup>1</sup> Attestand', MS.

Adam Breryhurst receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte die Jovis a festo apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum xlvi<sup>to</sup> et solvit xvis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Fol. 9.

Johannes de Newton receptus est ad libertatem ville die Veneris proximo ante festum sancti Dionisii martyris anno supradicto sub tali condicione quod si recedat a villa amittet libertatem; et solvet xs.

Ricardus de Sadler receptus est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione eodem die et solvet duas marcas.

Willelmus Parker receptus est, etc. [as Sadler, but pays "unam marcam" only].

Dycon Bykerstah' receptus est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione.

Agnes filia Walteri recepta est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione eodem anno.

Robertus Cromwell receptus est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione eodem anno.

Ordinatum [est] et concessum per Willelmum de Thicnesse maiorem ville Novicastri et viginti quatuor quod Prior de Trentham habeat libertatem in dicta villa emendi victualia ad proprios usus necessaria.

Johannes de Wygan inventus est rebellis secunda vice maiori, ballivis et xxiii<sup>or</sup> et contrarius sacramento suo et contra statuta et libertates ville. Ideo ordinatum est per maiorem et xxiii<sup>or</sup> et statuta Gilde quod si tertio inventus fuerit rebellis sive gravans superioribus vel statutis ville solvet communi ciste xxs. et amittet libertatem perpetuo.

1372 [1373-74].

Fol. 9  
verso.

Willelmus de Thicnesse electus est secundo maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum," except the year is "xlvi<sup>o</sup>"].

Remanent in communi cista xvli. xviii. iiiid. die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis.

Ricardus<sup>1</sup> de Colclogh et Johannes Kene electi sunt ballivi eodem anno eiusdem ville ad faciendum, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "terminis usualibus," inserting between "pertinent" and "et," "durante eorum termino," omitting "Johanni" and omitting before the last two words "et de iure consuetam"]. Ad hoc invenerunt plegios, viz. pro Ricardo Colclough Adam' de Prestbery Hugonem de Anderton, pro Johanne Kene Willelmum Brount et Henricum Swerkston.

Thomas le Goldsmyth et Henricus filius Ricardi electi sunt custodes et tastatores<sup>2</sup> panis et servicie. Et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum bene et fideliter attastandi<sup>3</sup> et presentandi quotiens et quodcumque vel ubicumque aliquem defectum invenerint.

Adam Grovonhonger electus est serviens eodem anno et super hoc fecit [sacramentum] ad officium suum bene et fideliter faciendum.

Ordinatum est per maiorem et xxiii<sup>or</sup> quod nullus decetero habeat servicium in ecclesia proclamatum nisi ad officium et proficuum ecclesie.

Willelmus de Bradwall et Willelmus de Wyche receperunt communem pistrinam a festo sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertii xlvii<sup>o</sup> usque ad idem festum anno revoluto et solvent xls. Et preter hoc dimittent dictam pistrinam in fine anni in adeo bono statu quo illam receperint, seu meliori, et bene et fideliter manu tenebunt et sustentabunt.

Memorandum quod die Veneris proximo post festum Michaelis maior et communitas sunt in debito pro diversis expensis xxili. xii. iiiid. de quibus habent in manibus xvli. xviii. iiiid.

Adam de Prestbury pro habenda clausura separali de uno crofto intra le Redefeld' solvet xxs.

<sup>1</sup> Willelmus, crossed out in MS.<sup>2</sup> castratores, MS.<sup>3</sup> ad castand', MS.

1373 [1374-75].

Fol. 10.

Nicholaus de Chaumboure electus est maior ville Novicastro subter Lymam, etc. [as on p. 145 above as far as "sacramentum," except the year is "xlviii"].

Willelmus de Erdislowe et Johannes de Lightwode electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above, inserting after "pertinent," "ad eorum officium durante eorum termino," omitting "argenti," "Johanni," "Lancastrie," "et de iure consuetam," substituting "eius ministris" for "ballivis suis ibidem," and ending with "terminis usualibus"]. Et ad hoc invenerunt certos plegios ad salvandam villam et libertatem quoad eorum officium, viz. pro Johanne Lyghtwoode Thomam de Podmor et Willelmum de Thicknesse, pro Willelmo de Erdeslowe Adam de Prestbury et Johannem Breton.

Adam de Gronhonger electus est serviens dicte ville die et anno supradictis et fecit sacramentum ad officium suum fideliter serviendum.

Henricus filius Ricardi et Hugo de Bolmor electi sunt die et anno supradictis custodes et tastatores panis et servicie, Et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum bene et fideliter attestandi<sup>1</sup> et presentandi quodcumque et quotienscumque defectum invenerint.

Willelmus Wygan receptus est ad libertatem ville sub tali condicione quod trahet moram in dicta villa. Sin autem amittet libertatem.

Memorandum quod die Veneris in octaba sancti Michaelis anno supradicto in communi cista remanent viii. xiiis. iiiid.

1374 [1375-76].

Fol. 10  
verso.

Ricardus de Colleclogh electus est maior ville Novicastro subter Lymam, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "termino suo," except the year is "xlix"]. Et ad hoc faciendum fecit sacramentum.

Johannes de Lylleshull et Hugo de Anderton electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as Fol. 10 above as far as "Duci vel"] ballivis suis firmam dicte ville debitam et salvabunt maiorem et communitatem eiusdem ville versus dictum dominum Ducem et versus quoscumque indempnes. Et super [hoc] invenerunt plegios, viz. pro Johanne Lylleshull Adam Prestbury Walterum Fox, pro Hugone de Anderton, Johannem Kene et Thomam Symond'.

Adam de Breton electus est serviens die et anno supradictis ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum. Et invenit plegium ad salvandum maiorem et communitatem eiusdem ville indempnes de omnibus iniuriis per se factis, viz. Johannem Breton, et dabit unam marcam.

Johannes de Castel et Willelmus Pecke electi sunt custodes assisie panis et cervisie et fecerunt sacramentum fideliter attestandi<sup>2</sup> et presentandi defectus quotienscumque et ubicumque invenerint.

Nicholaus de Chaumbour et Johannes de Lylleshull receperunt molen-dinum ad terminum quatuor annorum et dabunt per annum . . .<sup>3</sup> marca[s].

Johannes le Bowyar receptus est ad libertatem suam sub tali condicione quod morabitur in villa sin autem amittet; et dabit xxs.

Robertus Topy receptus est ad libertatem sub tali condicione et dat xxxs.

Andreas le Smyth receptus est ad libertatem sub tali condicione et dat xiiis. iiiid.

Ricardus Newbolde receptus est sub tali condicione et dat xxs.

Mattheas le Walshe receptus est sub eadem condicione et dat xiiis. iiiid.

Robertus Pylinge receptus est sub tali condicione et dat xiiis. 4d.

Fol. 11.

Johannes Blyott receptus est sub eadem condicione et dat dimidiam marcam.

<sup>1</sup> attestand', MS.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.<sup>3</sup> Blank space in MS.

Henricus Cowe receptus est sub eadem condicione et dat dimidiam marcam.

Summa *vili. iiis. iiiid.*

Thomas Catchpolle *iiis.*, Thomas Walden *vis.*, Ranulphus filius Oliue *vs.*, Ranulphus Bockenhalles *iis.*, Ricardus Cope senior *iiis.*, Willelmus Cowper *iiis. vid.*, Willelmus Hardshin *iiis.*, Hugo Bolmor *vis.*, Johannes Kene *xls.*, Thomas Goldsmyth *xviii. iiiid.*, Ricardus Crakemarshe *xxvs.*, Ricardus de <sup>1</sup> Colclough *iiis.*, Hugo Anderton *xxvs.*, Thomas le Spycer *xs.*, Thomas Crakemarshe *xs.*, Gilbertus Bykerstath [et] Johannes Lightwoode pro communi aula *xiiis. iiiid.*, Johannes Lightwoode [et] Willelmus Erdeslowe pro eadem *xiiis. iiiid.*, Thomas Symond [et] Johannes Lightwood pro pacto regis *vis. viiid.*, Thomas Hawkyn *iiis.*, Willelmus Brompton dimidiam marcam, summa *xli. xs. xd.*

Fol. 11  
verso.

Henricus Stanlowe *xxs.*, Henricus atte Mosse *xs.*, Johannes Newton plegius pro Willelmo Erdeslowe *xiiis. iiiid.*, Rogerus Moston dimidiam marcam, Willelmus Huhson plegius [pro] Johanne Seu'ley *xs.*, Rogerus Toppe *xld.*, Johannes le Cooke *xld.*, Thomas le Smyth *iis. viiid.*, Adam le Smyth *iiis.*, Johannes Maryott *iiis.*, Johannes Westbery dimidiam marcam, Johannes le Wright webbe *xiiid.*, Ricardus Tope junior *iiis.*, Adam Gronhonger dimidiam marcam, Agnes filia Willelmi *xld.*, Johannes Heth dimidiam marcam, summa *ciis. viiid.*

Summa totalis *xxvii. xviii. xd.* et Thomas Podmor dimidiam marcam postea, de quibus debent *vili. ixs. id.* pro molendino, et omnibus aliis qui aliquid petunt hoc die, sic remanent in communi cista *xvli. viiis. ix d.* de claro.

Gilbertus de Bickersteth [et] Hugo de Andertone collectores denariorum debitorum dicte ville ad reddendum compotum dictorum denariorum die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis anno revoluto.

Item ordinatum est per maiorem et *xxiiiior* quod quolibet anno duo de *xxiiiior* erunt collectores denariorum dicte ville debitorum ad ordinationem maioris qui pro tempore [fuerit et] *xxiiiior* sub condicione [? incomplete].

Fol. 12.

Willelmus de Bradwall recepit communem pistrinam ad terminum trium annorum sub tali condicione quod qualibet septimana pinset quatuor quarteria frumenti et bene et fideliter serviet omnibus ad furnum venientibus et in fine termini dictorum trium annorum dictam pistrinam in adeo bono statu quo illam recepit seu meliori sine aliquo rationabili defectu dimittet. Et si aliquis defectus in ea inveniatur ad dispositionem maioris et *xxiiiior* ad plenum emendabitur et dat annuatim *xls.*

Johannes de Bradwall pinset qualibet septimana duo quarteria frumenti sub eadem condicione.

Willelmus atte Wiche pinset unum quarterium sub eadem condicione.

Memorandum est quod ordinacio est facta per Ricardum de Colclough maiorem et *xxiiiior* quod si aliqua contencio sit inter aliquem burgensem vel extraneum et communitatem ville de aliqua terra sive parcella terre infra libertatem, nisi ille qui clamat demonstret verum titulum vel veram evidenciam dicte terre inde omnino accionem amittet.

Item ordinatum est per maiorem et *xxiiiior* quod nullus tabernarius habens vinum vendendum non attamet dolium nec pipam antequam maior qui pro tempore fuerit cum quibus sibi placuerit habeat attestum.

Item Willelmus Hardeshyn cepit unam shopam carnificum viz. superior[em] de maiore et *xxiiiior* pro qua reddet annuatim maiori et *xxiiiior* qui pro tempore fuerint *iiis.* ad duos anni terminos viz. ad festum Annunciationis beate Marie et sancti Michaelis tenendam sibi ad terminum vite et heredibus si illi placuerit, et dictus Willelmus Hardeshyn et heredes sui dictam shoppam sumptibus suis propriis sustentabunt bene et competenter per visum maioris qui pro tempore fuerit et *xxiiiior* <sup>2</sup> manu tenebunt quotienscumque et quandocumque necesse fuerit.

<sup>1</sup> le, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Some words seem to have fallen out here.

Randolphus Clerkeson cepit aliam shoppam tenendam sibi et suis modo et forma predictis.

Thomas Wallhowe cepit, etc. [as Clerkeson].

Ranulphus Bockenhale cepit duas shoppas tenendas sibi, etc. [as Clerkeson].

Willelmus Erdeslowe cepit aliam shoppam modo predicto.

Willelmus Cowper botcher cepit, etc. [as Clerkeson].

Ricardus Tope junior cepit aliam shoppam modo et forma predictis.

Ricardus Tope senior cepit, etc. [as Clerkeson].

Thomas Catchpole reddit annuatim iis., Thomas Haukin iis., Ricardus Thicknesse vid., Elianor Clerke iid.

1375 [1376-77].

Fol. 12  
verso.

Ricardus le Bontable electus est maior ville Novicatri subter Lymam die Martis in crastino sancti Michaelis archangeli, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum," except that the year is "quingagesimo"].

Thomas Hunte Willelmus Skytby Stephanus Madeley et Johannes Hondson electi sunt iacentes et divisores taxe ville predicte, et ad omnia que ad officium eorum pertinent iuramentum [fecerunt] ad domino regi solvendum viz. ad festum omnium sanctorum.

Hugo de Anderton et Johannes Kene electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "terminis usualibus," adding "durante termino" after "pertinent" and "de iure consuetam" after "debitam," but omitting "argenti," "Johanni," and "Lancastrie"], Et salvabunt maiorem et communitatem versus dictum dominum Ducem et versus quoscumque indempnes, Et ad hoc invenerunt plegios viz. pro Hugone Anderton Nicholaum del Chambor et Thomam Symond, pro Johanne Kene Henricum Swerkeston Willelmum de Thicknesse.

Stephanus Hall et Johannes Tuppe electi sunt receptores ville predicte, et ad omnia que ad officium eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale.

Willelmus Bour' et Ranulphus Bonde electi sunt custodes corporis ecclesie ville predicte, et ad omnia que ad officium, etc. [as Hall and Tuppe].

Adam Gronhonger electus est serviens eodem die et anno ad faciendum omnia que de iure pertinent ad officium, et fecit sacramentum, et dat pro officio xld., plegii pro eo Thomas Podmore et Willelmus Brompton.

Willelmus Felys capellanus receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et solvet xs. ad festum Purificationis beate Marie et invenit plegios Johannem Pollard et Willelmum Kylford.

Johannes Wygan et Hugo Bolmor electi sunt custodes assise panis et servisie et fecerunt sacramentum.

Hugo Phelippe pannarius receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et utatur sua propria arte et solvet xxs. ad festum Purificationis beate Marie et invenit plegios Thomam Bower et Johannem Prestbery.

Johannes Caske carnifex receptus est, etc. [as Phelippe to "invenit," Fol. 13. except that he pays xiiis. iiiid.] plegios Radulphum Delves et Henricum Breton.

Ricardus le Smyth receptus est [as Phelippe as far as "arte"] et solvet in manu——<sup>1</sup>

Robertus Hardyblood receptus est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione et solvit in manu——<sup>2</sup>

Margeria Slayomegrene recepta est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione viiis. [ad] festum Martyni, plegius maior.

Agnes le Graye recepta est ad libertatem predictam sub eadem condicione, dimidium marcam, festum Natalis et Annunciationis, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Amount missing.

<sup>2</sup> Amount missing.

Ricardus Geffeson receptus est ad libertatem ville sub tali condicione xs. [festum], Natalis.

Henricus Bockenhalle receptus est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione i marcam, plegius.

Nicholaus Tonor receptus est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione i marcam [festum] Natalis et Annunciationis.

Willelmus Cade capellanus receptus est ad libertatem ville sub eadem condicione.

Johannes Avereis receptus est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione et dat i marcam, dies Natalis et Pasc[he].

Johannes le Smyth receptus est ad libertatem sub eadem condicione et solvit ii marcas. Summa xvli. xiiis. vid.

In hoc loco desiderantur vi ultimi anni regis Edwardi tertii.

Fol. 13  
verso.

1376 [1377-78].

Initium regni regis Ricardi a conquestu Angliae secundi.

Willelmus de Thicnesse electus est maior ville Novicatri subter Lymam, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum," except that the regnal year is "Ricardi primo."].

Johannes de Colclowgh et Johannes le Roper junior electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "pertinent"] durante termino eorum, Et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum et similiter invenerunt plegios, pro Johanne de Colclowgh Adam de Prestburye et Johannem Lagowe, et Johannes le Roper invenit Walterum Fox et Johannem Kene ad solvendum domino Duci vel eius certis ballivis firmam ville predictae et ad salvandum maiorem dictae ville et eiusdem loci communitatem indemnes versus dictum dominum Ducem et quoscumque alios.

Adam Gronhonger electus est serviens eodem die[et] anno ad faciendum omnia que de iure pertinent ad officium suum, et fecit sacramentum, et super hoc invenit plegium Johannem Lagowe pro firma sua solvenda pro officio suo.

Henricus filius Ricardi et Thomas Goldsmyth electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et fecerunt sacramentum.

Johannes de Farundel receptus est ad libertatem ville sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et utetur sua propria arte et solvet ii marcas ad festum Paschal[e] domini et Purificationis beate Marie equis porcionibus.

Benedictus le Goldsmyth receptus est ad libertatem dictae ville sub eadem condicione et solvet xs. ad terminos predictos.

Walterus de Lesate receptus est ad libertatem ville predictae sub eadem condicione et solvet xs., plegius Thomas Symond.

Symond de le Bron' receptus est ad libertatem ville predictae sub condicione predictae et solvet xiiis. iiid., plegius Johannes de Breryhurst, senior.

Johannes Pistor habebit pistrinam communem et invenit plegium Henricum de Werkuston ad solvendum firmam suam ad quatuor anni terminos.

Ranulphus filius clerici invenit plegios viz. Thomam Happe et Thomam Goldsmyth Ricardum le Sadler et Willelmum le Parker ad salvandum ville indemne sub pena C solidorum,<sup>1</sup> etc.

Fol. 14.

1377 <sup>2</sup> [1378-79].

Thomas de Podmore electus est maior ville Novicatri subter Lymam, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum," but the regnal year is "Ricardi secundo"].

Thomas Happe et Thomas Bloreton junior electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as

<sup>1</sup> Office not stated.

<sup>2</sup> 1577, MS.

on p. 143 above as far as "sacramentum," adding after "pertinent" "durante termino eorum"], Et similiter invenerunt plegios Thomas Happe invenit Johannem de Colclowgh et Johannem Roper junior, et Thomas Bloroton invenit Johannem Kene et Johannem Lightwoode ad solvendum, etc. [as on p. 150 above, adding "Lancastrie" after "Duci"].

Fait a remembres que lan' de Roy Richardi [sic] secunde puisse le conquiste secunde le abbe et covent de Lylleshulle mostrerent une chartre del temps le roy Johñ graunte al dit abbe et covente, du yestre franc' de achatre pour le oepe<sup>1</sup> de mesme tochant la meisont avantdit, lequele chartre fuit allowe et reward' deuant Thomas de Podmore de Chastell subtus Lyme meyr, de achatre dens la ville suisdite ceo que appartient au lor' oepe come est supradict' [sic] s[oubs] tiele condicione quod [sic] en case que le chartre potesse countredit par ascume accion en defence par le dit meyr ou par alter meyr ou par le xxiiii esnes quod [sic] le dit chartre ne fiet alowe tanquant ill soit execut' prove<sup>2</sup> par ley.

Rogerus Grey receptus est ad libertatem sub tali condicione tam diu vixerit sine uxore, et quando habet uxorem amittet libertatem et solvet xxs. viz. vis. viiij. ad festum Pentecostes, vis. viiij. ad festum Nativitatis domini,<sup>3</sup> et invenit plegium Thomam Symond, etc.

Willelmus Woolfruge' receptus est ad libertatem ville sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem ville et solvet tresdecim solidos<sup>4</sup> viz. ad festum Natalis domini vis. viiij. et ad festum Pasche vis. viiij. et invenit plegios Thomam Symond et Adam de Prestburye. Johannes Kel receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte sub tali condicione et solvet xiiis. iiiij. viz. [as Woolfruge' as far as "plegios"] Thomam Symond et Thomam Happe.

Adam Wyger receptus est ad libertatem ville predicte sub tali condicione et solvit triginta solidos viz. ad festum Nativitatis domini xs. ad festum Pasche xs. et dominica secunda tunc<sup>5</sup> proximo sequente xs. et [invenit] plegios Thomam Symond et Nicholaum de Chaumbre. Fol. 14 verso.

Margareta Bodgehewer recepta est [ad] libertatem sub tali condicione et solvet vis. viiij. viz. ad festum Nativitatis domini iis. iiiij. et festum Pasche iis. iiiij. et [invenit] plegium Adam Prestburye.

1378 [1379-80].

Fol. 15.

Willelmus de Thicnesse junior electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam ad faciendum omnia que durante termino suo ad officium maioris pertinent, et super hoc fecit sacramentum die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie tertio.

Thomas Symond et Johannes de Colclowgh electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "usualibus," omitting "et fecerunt sacramentum," "xx marcas argenti"<sup>6</sup> and "Johanni"] Et ad hoc faciendum invenerunt plegios viz. pro Thoma Symond Hugonem de Anderton et Johannem de Lightwoode seniore et pro Johanne Colclowgh Johannem Kene et Johannem Roper juniorem et fecerunt sacramentum suum; respice ex altera parte folii.

Ricardus Foorde electus est serviens eodem die et dabit pro officio suo vis. viiij. et fecit sacramentum suum et invenit plegium<sup>7</sup> Adam de Prestburye.

Johannes Shermom receptus est ad libertatem ville sub tali condicione dum tamen moratur in villa Novicastri supradicta et solvet xiiis. iiiij. viz. ad festum Natalis domini vis. viiij. ad festum Pasche proxime sequentem

<sup>1</sup> eops, MS.

<sup>2</sup> ? For execute et prove.

<sup>3</sup> Third payment omitted in MS.

<sup>4</sup> "et quatuor denarios" omitted in MS.

<sup>5</sup> nunc, MS.

<sup>6</sup> Blank left for amount.

<sup>7</sup> Plegg', MS., but only one pledge given.

vis. viii<sup>d</sup>. et invenit plegios Gilbertum de Bykerstath et Johannem Lightwoode seniore.

Johannes de Clapham receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub eadem conditione et solvet xs. et invenit plegium <sup>1</sup> predictum Gilbertum et habet eundem diem.

Johannes Pylinge electus est [ad] eandem libertatem eodem die et sub eadem conditione et solvet xv<sup>s</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. ad terminos supradictos, et invenit plegium <sup>1</sup> Willelmum de Brompton et habet eundem diem.

Dominus Johannes Heuster capellanus parochie electus est ad eandem libertatem et fecit sacramentum suum eodem die, et nihil solvit, eo quod [est] communis clericus, et concessum fuit ei per maiorem, xxiii<sup>or</sup> et totam communitatem.

Johannes Smalwood wryght electus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub conditione predicta et solvet vis. viii<sup>d</sup>. ad terminos supradictos et invenit plegios Johannem Lightwoode et Willelmum Thicknes.

Johannes Norreys roper electus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub conditione eadem et solvet xiii<sup>s</sup>. iii<sup>d</sup>. ad terminos supradictos et invenit plegium <sup>1</sup> Adam de Prestbery.

Conditio eleccionis ballivorum ville ex altera parte istius folii, viz. Thome Symond et Johannis de Colclogh talis est quod habeant dictum officium cum omnibus suis commodis et pertinentiis per totum annum integrum ut superius patet, ita quod si contingat quod perdat aliquid de predicto officio in fine anni quod habeant allocationem de lxvis. viii<sup>d</sup>. et si nihil perdat de officio predicto nullam allocationem habeant.

Thomas de Thicknes electus est ad eandem libertatem per maiorem et xxiii<sup>or</sup> et communitatem dicte ville et fecit sacramentum suum et nihil dat pro eadem libertate eo quod conceditur ei ex gratia per dictos maiorem, xxiii<sup>or</sup> et communitatem.

Memorandum quod die Martis proximo post octavam Pasche anno regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum tertio coram Willelmo de Thicknes juniore tunc maiore Novicastro subtus Lymam conquestum fuit per xxiii<sup>or</sup> seniores et totam communitatem dicte ville si defectus clausurarum sepium et gardinorum infra burgum dicte ville iacentium, et magna discordia mota inter vicinos dicte ville propter predictam causam clausurarum gardinorum unde ordinatum fuit per predictos maiorem et xxiii<sup>or</sup> et totam communitatem quod quilibet vicinus seu proximus bene competenter et tempore debito faceret hayas seu sepes suas et includeret gardinum seu clausuram proximi sui, ex parte dextera vel sinistra, que duarum partium per maiorem qui pro tempore fuerit, videtur convenientius fieri et ordinari. Et si contingat quod aliquis burgensis vel vicinus infra dictum burgum voluntarie et ex malicia seu mala voluntate non fecerit sepes seu hayas suas ut predictum est, sed dimiserit eas apertas et vacuas in dampnum et gravamen vicini sui, quod ex tunc quicumque burgensis seu eius tenens cui dampnum fecit, recuperet dampnum suum licite et per ius eum persequens per quem dampnum fuit coram maiore qui pro tempore fuerit.

Et ordinatum est per eosdem quod si quis occupans terram in communi campo ut pro anno existente, quod includat penes terram quam occupat viz. campo hyemali per festum sancti Martini, et campo quadragesimali per festum sancti Marci, sub pena forisfacture primo die xii<sup>d</sup>. et quolibet die sequenti *id.* quousque fiat, ad communem pixidem persolvendum.

Item ordinatum est eodem anno de edificacione domorum viz. quod si aliquis burgensis infra dictam villam edificet siue edificari faciat aliquam domum seu tenementum adherendum domui sive edificio vicini sui proximi, si altius edificat quam domum proximi sui ex utraque parte, quod ex utraque parte stellisidia domus sue [faciat] <sup>3</sup> : si edificet equaliter concordans cum

<sup>1</sup> Plegg', MS., but only one pledge given.

<sup>2</sup> This ordinance and the two which follow have in the margin : " Ordinacio generalis."

<sup>3</sup> The addition seems needed for clearness, but doubtless the supervision of the mayor was required in this case as in the other.

domo proximorum suorum, quod extunc ille qui tardius edificat ex una parte faciat stellisia bene et competenter per visum maioris qui pro tempore fuerit.

1379 [1380-81].

Fol. 16.

Willelmus de Thicknesse junior electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam, etc. [as on p. 142 above as far as "sacramentum (suum)" except the regnal year: "Ricardi secundi . . . quarto"].

Thomas Symond et Johannes Colclogh electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 143 above as far as "usualibus," omitting "et fecerunt sacramentum," "xx marcas argenti,"<sup>1</sup> and "Johanni"] Et ad hoc faciendum invenerunt plegios pro Thoma Symond Johannem Kene et Walterum Fox et pro Johanne Colclogh dictos Johannem et Walterum et fecerunt sacramentum suum.

Willelmus Parker electus est serviens eodem die et dabit pro officio suo vis. viii*d.*, et fecit sacramentum suum et invenit plegium Johannem Lagowe.

Johannes Breryhurst receptus est ad libertatem ville Novicastro sub tali condicione dum tamen moratur in ville Novicastro supradicti et solvet xiiis. iii*i*d. viz. dimidiam in manu et alteram dimidiam in festo Natalis domini proximo sequente et invenit plegios Ricardum Buntable et Johannem Roper juniorem.

Willelmus Alotus receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub eadem condicione et solvet xiiis. iii*i*d. viz. vis. viii*d.* ad festum Natalis domini et vis. viii*d.* ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste et invenit plegios Gilbertum Becurstaff et Galfridum Stringer.

Henricus Walker receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub eadem condicione et solvet xiiis. iii*i*d. viz. xis. viii*d.* ad festum Omnium Sanctorum et xis. viii*d.* ad festum Natalis domini et invenit plegios Willelmum Parker et Johannem Clapham.

Willelmus Wotchose receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die sub eadem condicione et solvet xiiis. iii*i*d. viz. vis. viii*d.* ad festum Natalis domini et vis. viii*d.* ad festum Pasche et invenit plegios Gilbertum Becurstafe et Nicholaum Chaumber.

Johannes Boothland receptus [as Wotchose as far as "plegios"] Willelmum Breryhurst et Henricum Nayler.

1380 [1381-82].

Fol. 16  
verso.

Gilda Mercatoria.

In hoc anno nec nomina officiariorum burghi inveniuntur in rotulario nec ullae res gestae, nisi quod gilda mercatoria tenta fuit eodem anno in septimana Pentecostes tempore Nicholai Chaumber tunc maioris.

Accomptus.<sup>2</sup>

Johannes Tuppe et Stephanus Halle receptores ville predicte viz. in anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie tertio decimo, etc. de xiii*l.* xvs. id. Idem petunt allocacionem de vi*l.* viiis. iii*i*d. solutis pro taxa domini regis. Item iidem petunt allocacionem de ii marcis solutis Willelmo Lylleshull capellano pro domo sua in eadem villa. Item iidem petunt allocacionem de iis. solutis Henrico Breton. Item iidem petunt allocacionem de xxs. a retro de Priore de Trentham. Item iidem petunt allocacionem de xxs. a retro de Johanne Delves. Item iidem petunt

<sup>1</sup> Blank left for amount.<sup>2</sup> This account of 1411 is here inserted out of place.

allocacionem de xxxs. a retro de Thoma Grenewey. Item iidem petunt allocacionem de viiis. solutis pro Lylleshull waste. Et sic omnibus computatis et computandis allocatis vel allocandis reddebant de claro xxiiis.

Fol. 17.

1381 [1382-83].

Willelmus de Thickness junior electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu Anglie sexto ad faciendum omnia que pertinent ad officium suum et super hoc fecit sacramentum.

Gilbertus de Bickerstath et Johannes Kene electi sunt ballivi dicte ville eodem die et solvent Duci Lancastrie xlii. pro feodi firma predicte ville et xlii. maiori et communitati de eadem etc. plegius dicti Gilberti Walterus Fox, plegii dicti Johannis Johannes de Colclogh et Johannes Lyghtwoode.

Adam de Gravenhonger electus est ad officium servientis et fecit sacramentum et invenit plegium Nicholaum de Chaumber et solvet pro dicto officio vis. viiij*d*. in festo sancte Trinitatis sine ulteriori dilacione; et sic quilibet serviens pro tempore suo solvet predictos vis. viiij*d*. pro dicto officio in festo predicto per ordinacionem maioris et dicte ville communitatis perpetuis temporibus durantibus.

Eodem die ex consensu et assensu supradicti maioris et xxiiij*or* aldermannorum ordinatum fuit quod nemo pandoxans seu servitia [*sic*] vendens vulgariter upholders nominati vendant servitia nisi cum mensuris sigillatis videlicet cum lagena, potello, triparte et quarta<sup>1</sup> secundum precium bladorum; et quilibet de xxiiij*or* aldermannis tenebunt dictam ordinacionem in domibus suis propriis sine simulacione seu cautela mediante et nullatenus per cyphos. Ac etiam vendent cervisiam per dictas mensuras ad extra dum aliquam servisiam venalem infra eorum domicilium habuerint. Et si contingat quod aliquis de predictis xxiiij*or* frangat vel frangi faciat seu contradicat dictam ordinacionem post clamorem maioris de dicta ordinacione facta, quod extunc erit calumpniatus et apprehensus coram maiore et sociis suis antedictis, et idem delinquens solvet operi ecclesie sancti Egidii dicte ville vis. viiij*d*. pro transgressionem sua. Preterea si aliquis alius de communitate dicte ville cuiuscumque gradus fuerit vendat servisia nisi per mensuras supranominatas et nullatenus per ciphos, et semper signo extenso dum habent ad vendendum et tam bene ad extra quam infra quod forisfaciant dictam serviciam per visum maioris et ballivorum qui pro tempore fuerint ad commodum, etc.

Item quantum ad denarios sancti Petri qui extendunt se ad iiis. viiij*d*. ordinatum et concessum fuit quod receptores denariorum ville qui pro tempore fuerint solvent dictos iiis. viiij*d*. de communi redditu et inde onerarentur et allocarentur in compoto suo perpetuis temporibus duraturum.

Fol. 17  
verso.

1382 [1383-84].

Willelmus de Thickness junior electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu Anglie septimo, et faciet omnia que pertinent ad officium suum, et super hoc fecit sacramentum.

Gilbertus de Bykurstaffe et Johannes Kene electi sunt ballivi predicte ville et solvent domino Duci Lancastrie firmam ville predicte et facient omnia que pertinent ad officium ballivorum et fecerunt sacramentum suum, plegii ex parte Gilberti, Walterus Fox, ex parte Johannis Kene, Johannes Lightwood et Johannes de Colclowgh.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. gallon, half-gallon, third part and fourth part of a gallon. For the third part cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Corp. of Beverley*, 1900, p. 161.

Henricus de Boterdon electus est ad officium servientis, et fecit sacramentum, plegii dicti Henrici, Galfridus le Stringer et Thomas Happe, et dictus Henricus solvet communitati ville predictæ pro dicto officio in festo Trinitatis vis. vii<sup>id</sup>.

Johannes de Castill et Adam de Gravenhonger electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et fecerunt sacramentum suum etc.

Henricus Quarrior electus est ad libertatem ville eodem die sub tali condicione quod si moratur infra villam predictam, etc. et solvet xs., plegius Galfridus Stringer et dictus Henricus fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Thomas de Beeche serviens Willelmi Hardshyne electus est ad eandem libertatem sub eadem condicione et solvet xxs. videlicet ad festa Natalis domini et Pasche proxime sequentis per equales porciones per plegium Willelmi Hardshyne, etc.

Summa omnium expensarum et liberationum compoti Galfridi le Stringer receptoris denariorum ville Novicastro computantis die Veneris in festo sancti Michaelis in Montetumba anno regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum septimo xxxii<sup>li</sup>. xviii. iii<sup>id</sup>., et debet similiter computante xs. vii<sup>id</sup>., et postea allocantur eidem computanti de redditu Johanne Prachett de hoc anno et de anno precedente xviii. vi<sup>id</sup>. eo quod non possunt levare, et eidem de redditu Laurencii Honydrope hoc anno viis. causa ut supra, et de redditu Rogeri Hondson' viis. vi<sup>id</sup>. eo quod non possunt levare, et de redditu quoque quondam Jacobi de Podmore de tribus annis precedentibus iiis., et eidem de libertate Alexandri Fox iiis. iii<sup>id</sup>., et eidem pro Willelmo de Boterdon xi<sup>id</sup>., et eidem pro Johanne Braas xi<sup>id</sup>., et eidem pro Johanne Walshe xviii<sup>id</sup>., et eidem de redditu Alianore Clerke i<sup>id</sup>., et eidem de redditu Felicie Madeley,<sup>1</sup> et eidem pro dimidia quarta calceti empti ad opus ville xxd., et eidem pro feodo clerici ville vis. vii<sup>id</sup>., et eidem pro feodo suo pro anno ex convencione xxs., Et sic excedit<sup>2</sup> de lixs. ix<sup>id</sup>. obolo, de quo quidem excessu remanet versus communitatem ville de debito superius allocato in isto pede istius compoti ut patet per parcelas de redditu Johanne Prachett, Laurencii Honydrope, Rogeri Hondson, Jacobi de Podmore et pro Willelmo Boterdon, Johanne Braas et Johanne Walshe necnon et de redditu Elianore Clerke et Felicie Madeley xxxviii. xd.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The missing amount seems to have been 1½d.

<sup>2</sup> excidit, MS.

<sup>3</sup> This account is difficult to understand until one realises that the receipts are not actually stated but implied by the statement that Stringer owed 10s. 8d. over and above the £32 18s. 4d. of his expenses and payments. Against this debt were set certain bad debts, a small bill not in his account, and the fees of the town clerk and himself.

	£0	17	6
	0	7	0
	0	7	6
	0	3	0
	0	3	4
	0	1	0
	0	1	0
	0	1	6
	0	0	2
[Felicia Madeley .	0	0	1½]
	0	1	8
	0	6	8
	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3	10	5½
Less . . . .	0	10	8
	<hr/>		
Excess over his debt	£2	19	9½

The amount of bad debt in this account was £2 2s. 1½d., but it was reduced to £1 18s. 10d. before it was closed because Alexander Fox apparently paid the 3s. 4d. he owed.

1383 [1384-85].

Johannes Colcloghe electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie octavo, et faciet omnia que ad officium suum pertinent, et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum.

Thomas Thicknesse et Thomas Bowyer electi sunt ballivi predicte ville et solvent domino Duci Lancastrie firmam ville predicte et facient omnia que pertinent ad officium ballivorum et fecerunt sacramentum suum, et [invenerunt] plegios ex parte dicti Thome Thicknes Willelmum de Whytmor, Walterum Fox et ex parte dicti Thome Bowyer Johannem Kene, Johannem Lagowe, etc.

Adam Granhonger electus est ad officium servientis et fecit sacramentum, plegii dicti Adam Thomas Happe et Johannes Lagowe, et dictus Adam solvet communitati ville pro dicto officio in festo Trinitatis viz. viiij.

Johannes Bromleigh et Adam Breton electi sunt custodes assise panis et cervisie et fecerunt sacramentum suum, etc.

Johannes Brodocke electus est ad libertatem ville eiusdem sub condicione quod si dictus Johannes trahat moram suam extra libertatem istam exemplius libertatem predictam non habeat, et solvet ii marcas in manibus per plegium Ricardi Bontable et dictus Johannes fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Willelmus Benett electus est ad libertatem eiusdem ville sub condicione predicta et solvet xs., viz. unam medietatem in festo Natalis domini et alteram medietatem in festo Paschali per plegium Adam Colclough, etc.

Hugo Trofforde electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet xs. citra festum Natalis domini per plegium Thome Happe et dictus Thomas fecit sacramentum.

Willelmus Chapmon electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet xs. viz. vs. in festo Natalis domini et vs. in festo Pasche per plegium Johannis Madeley et Willelmi Bradwall, et dictus Willelmus fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Thomas Cooke electus est, etc. [as Chapmon as far as "Pasche"] per plegium Adami Colclough, et dictus Thomas fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Ricardus Barbour electus est, etc. [as Chapmon as far as "Pasche"] plegius fides sua, et dictus Ricardus fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Ricardus Browne electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet xs. [in] manibus predictis et festis predictis, plegii Henricus Swerkston, Willelmus Brompton et fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Johannes Hap electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet xs. porcionibus predictis et plegius fides sua, et predictus Johannes fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

## Computus.

Summa omnium receptorum compoti Galfridi Stringer de redditu ville et de redditu sancte Marie computantis die Martis proximo<sup>1</sup> anno regni Ricardi secundi post conquestum octavo xxiiiiij. xs. iij. Item summa compoti expensarum eiusdem Galfridi de iisdem redditibus computantis die et anno supradictis xxli. xvis. vd., et super compotum petit allocacionem de xxs. pro stipendio,<sup>1</sup> et xiiis. iiiiij. pro servicio Johannis Pollard, et sic in fine compoti debet xls. vd.

Memorandum quod Willelmus Whitmor' et Stephanus Samffaile electi sunt receptores redditus ville Novicastro subtus Lymam et redditus beate Marie ville eiusdem die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu Anglie octavo.

Item ordinatum est per xxiiii die Veneris proximo ante festum sancti Barnabe apostoli viz. anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum

<sup>1</sup> Blank space, MS.

Anglie octavo quod idoneus sacerdos erit electus ad celebrandum ad altare beate Marie scilicet dicendo missam cum nota quolibet die sabbati et qualibet nocte unam amphoram recipiendo cum salario <sup>1</sup> suo de redditu beate Marie.

Eodem die et anno Willelmus Brompton concordatus est cum maiore et xxiii<sup>or</sup> pro quadam proprestura super ipsum presentata de quadam platea situata iuxta domum Nicholai Chamber videlicet pro viginti solidis in gratiam predictorum maioris et xxiii<sup>or</sup>.

Eodem die et anno Johannes Rooper concordatus est cum predicto maiore et xxiii<sup>or</sup> pro quadam proprestura super ipsum presentata de quadam fossa iuxta Colleswaynes lake videlicet quod nullus eum impugnaverit pro predicta fossa imperpetuum.

Memorandum quod die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Barnabe apostoli et anno predicto Johannes Schermon et Johannes Wygan sunt concordati per dictum maiorem et alios probos viros et uterque illorum obligat <sup>2</sup> se in decem libris bone et legalis monete solvendis ciste communi ville Novicastro subtus Lymam, ita scilicet quod si contingat aliquem eorum versus alterum a die confeccionis presentium propter dicta discordiam aliquam, etc.

Ordinatum est per maiorem, xxiii<sup>or</sup> et communitatem eiusdem ville Novicastro subtus Lymam quod nullus forinsecus homo nisi sit burgensis a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli proximo futuro non habeat nullam licentiam ad brasianandum neque pinsendum sub pena vis. viii<sup>d</sup>. ad solvendum receptori ville predictae iurat [*sic*].

1384 [1385-86].

Fol. 19.

Willelmus de Thicknesse electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu Anglie nono, et faciet omnia que pertinent ad officium suum et super hoc fecit sacramentum.

Willelmus de Whitmore et Henricus Stanlawe electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 156 above as far as " sacramentum suum "], plegii ex parte dicti Willelmi de Whitmore <sup>3</sup> et Johannes de Lightwodde et ex parte dicti Henrici Stanlawe Johannes de Colcloughe et Johannes le Roaper.

Adam Grave[n]hung' electus est ad officium servientis et fecit sacramentum, plegium dicti Adam Willelmum Hardeschyne et dictus Adam solvet communitati ville predictae pro dicto officio in festo Trinitatis vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Ranulphus Bagenalde et Johannes le Castel electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et ad officium suum fideliter faciendum fecerunt sacramentum suum.

Galfridus le Stringer die et anno predictis recepit de maiore et xxiii<sup>or</sup> pistrinam ville tenendam ad terminum trium annorum termino incipiente in die predicto et durante quousque totus sic completus; redd[et] inde annuatim ville predictae iii marcas. vis. viii<sup>d</sup>. per plegium Johannem le Roaper.

Eodem die Johannes le Fletcher junior electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet decem solidos ad duos anni terminos scilicet ad festum Pasc[h]e et ad festum Michaelis archangeli per plegios Willelmum de Thyknesse et Willelmum le Rivett et dictus Johannes fecit sacramentum suum.

Eodem die Willelmus de Wynnesbury electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet decem solidos ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones scilicet ad festum Pasc[h]e et ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste per plegium Johannem le Wygan et dictus Willelmus fecit sacramentum suum.

<sup>1</sup> No amount stated.<sup>2</sup> Obligant, MS.<sup>3</sup> " bludertan " (*sic*), MS.

Eodem die Johannes le Smale electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet xiis. ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones scilicet ad festum Pasc[h]e et ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste per plegios Johannem Pollarde et Thomam Spicer et fecit sacramentum suum.

Fol. 19  
verso.

Eodem die Thomas le Sawmper electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet unam marcam ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones scilicet ad festum Natalis domini et ad festum Pasc[h]e [per] plegium Adam Prestbury et fecit sacramentum suum.

Eodem die Johannes de Coventria electus est, etc. [as for William de Wynnesbury above as far as "Pasc[h]e"] et ad festum Michaelis archangeli per plegios Johannem Podmor et Thomam Walthowe, etc.

Memorandum quod Willelmus de Whitmore debet ville Novicastro subtus Lymam xxvs. qui remanent a retro in manibus suis tempore computationis officii sui anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie nono. Concordatum fuit inter maiorem ville Novicastro et viginti quatuor ex una parte et Henricum de Swercustonn' burgensem dicte ville ex altera [parte] anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum nono scilicet est forma viz. quod predictus Henricus cognovit unum annualem redditum xiiid. pro schopis quas dictus Henricus tenet [in] dicta villa, solvendus eosdem xiiid. annuatim rectori denariorum dicte ville; nichilominus dictus Henricus solvet vis. viiid. pro iniusta et longa detencione rectorum dicte ville, pro arreragiis etc.

Fol. 20.

1385 [1386-87].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum decimo et faciet omnia que pertinent de iure [ad] officium suum et super hoc fecit suum sacramentum, etc.

Henrye de Stanlowe et Willelmus de Whitmore electi sunt ballivi dicte ville die Veneris proximo post dictum festum et solvent, etc. [as on p. 156 above as far as "sacramentum suum"] per plegios ex parte dicti Henrici, Johannem Rooper, ex parte Willelmi de Whitmore Hugonem de Anderton.

Johannes Durbhye electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet xiiis. iiiid. ad duos anni terminos viz. ad festum Natalis domini et Pasc[h]e per plegium Ricardum Gefsome et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum.

Eodem die Johannes Walton' electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet xs. ad duos anni terminos viz. ad festum Natalis domini et Pasc[h]e per plegios Johannem Kene et Thomam Rower et super hoc fecit suum sacramentum, etc.

Eodem die Johannes Walsche tayloore electus est, etc. [as Walton' as far as "Pasc[h]e"] per plegium Nicolaum de Chamber et super hoc fecit sacramentum, etc.

Hugo Fouce eodem die electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet xls. viz. xxs. pre manibus et alios xxs. ad festum Natalis domini per plegium Willelmum Fovce et super hoc fecit sacramentum, etc.

Eodem die Nicholas de Schetwall electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet xs. ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones viz. ad festum Natalis domini et Pasc[h]e per plegios Johannem Kene et Thomam Rower et super hoc fecit suum sacramentum.

Eodem die Robertus Baxster electus est etc. [as Schetwall to "sacramentum"].

Fol. 20  
verso.

Eodem die Ricardus Navell electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet xiiis. iiiid. viz. vis. viiid. pre manibus et alteros vis. viiid. ad festum Pasc[h]e proxime sequentem per plegium Gilbertum de Bykurstagh, et super hoc fecit sacramentum, etc.

Eodem die Johannes Flegh' de Manchester electus est, etc. [as Schetwall as far as "Pasc[h]e"] per plegios Henricum de Stanlow et Willelmum de Whitmore et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Eodem die Ricardus de Bartonu' electus est etc. [as Schetwall as far as "plegios"] Hugonem de Andurton et Willelmum de Brompton et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum, etc.

Eodem die Johannes Wygan electus est ad officium servientis et fecit sacramentum suum, plegii dicti Johannis Johannes Rooper et Henricus de Stanlowe et dictus Johannes solvet communitati dicte ville pro dicto officio in festo sancte Trinitatis proxime sequente, etc. vis. viii*d*.

Ordinatum est per Johannem de Colcloughe maiorem ville Novicastri et per viginti quatuor dicte ville quod omnes isti suprascripti qui sunt electi ad libertatem dicte ville sub tali condicione [sunt electi] quod si morantur infra dictam libertatem, libertatem etc. ville obtinebunt sin autem libertatem dicte ville amittent, etc.

1386 [1387-88].

Fol. 21.

Willelmus de Thicknesse electus est maior ville Novicastri subts Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum undecimo et super hoc [fecit] sacramentum suum ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent, etc.

Eodem die et anno Ricardus del Ford et Roger le Heuster electi sunt ballivi et fecerunt sacramenta sua ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officia sua pertinent et solvent Duci Lancastrie firmam debitam et consuetam et invenerunt plegios ex parte dicti Ricardi Adam Prestbury et Henricum Stanlowe et ex parte dicti Rogeri Johannem de Colcloughe et Willelmum de Whitmore.

Eodem die et anno Adam de Granhong' electus est serviens et fecit sacramentum suum ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent et solvet vis. viii*d*., plegii Andrew le Smythe et Adam Bretton.

Adam Bretton et Rogerus Shermon electi sunt custodes panis et servicie anno supradicto et fecerunt sacramenta sua ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent.

Henrye Shorte receptus est ad libertatem ville Novicastri eodem die et anno sub tali condicione et forma quod dum tamen moratur infra ville et dabit pro eadem libertate xxs. et solvet xs. ad festum Natalis [domini] et xs. ad festum Pasc[h]e, plegium Willelmum de Whitmore.

Willelmus Brerihurst receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die et anno sub eadem condicione et debet pro eadem libertate xiiis. iii*d*. et solvet ad terminos predictos, plegius Thomas de Thicknes.

Rogerus Shermon receptus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die et anno sub eadem condicione et dabit pro eadem libertate xs. et solvet ad terminos predictos, plegius Roger Heuster.

Johannes Earc receptus est, etc. [as Shermon as far as "predictos," but the amount is xvis. viii*d*.], plegius Thomas Thicknes, etc.

Thomas Tvnye receptus est, etc. [as Earc as far as "predictos"], plegios Roger Heuster et Ricardum Chamber.

Johannes Preston, etc. [as Earc as far as "predictos"], plegius Andrew le Smythe. Fol. 21  
verso.

Rogerus Brouncoke, sherman, receptus est ad eandem libertatem sub eadem condicione et dabit pro eadem libertate xiiis. iii*d*. [et] solvet ad terminos predictos, plegios Roger Heuster et Johannem Preston.

1387 [1388-89].

Johannes de<sup>1</sup> Colclough electus est maior etc. [as Fol. 21 above as far as "conquestum"] Anglie duodecimo et faciet omnia que de iure pertinent ad officium maioris et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum.

Eodem die et anno Ricardus Tup junior et Rogerus Hewster electi

sunt ballivi eiusdem ville et solvent Duci Lancastrie firmam predictae ville et de iure eis pertinentem [solvere] et facient omnia que de iure pertinent ad officium ballivorum et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum suum per plegios ex parte dicti Ricardi Ricardum Chamber et Johannem Lightwodd et ex parte dicti Rogeri Hewster Johannem Madeley et Ricardum Ford.

Eodem die Adam Gravehonger electus est ad officium servientis et ad officium suum fideliter faciendum fecit sacramentum suum per plegios ex parte dicti Adam Willelmum Alot' et Thomam Walthewe et predictus Adam solvet communitati ville predictae pro dicto officio in festo sancte Trinitatis vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Gilda mercatoria burgensium ville Novicastro subtus Lymam tenta ibidem die Martis, Mercurii et Jovis in septimana Pentecostes anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie duodecimo et in tempore Johannis de Colcloughe tunc maioris predictae ville et eodem tempore subsequentes fuerunt primi duodecim, viz.

Fol. 22.

## Prima duodena :

Thomas de Podmore, Willelmus de Thicknes, Nicholaus de Chamber, Ricardus de Bontable, Rogerus Lettys, Galfridus Stringer, Henricus de Swirghston', Willelmus de<sup>1</sup> Brompton, Hugo de Anderton, Gilbertus Bykerstath, Johannes le Kene, Adam de Presburye, Johannes le Rooper.

## Secunda duodena :

Thomas le Bowyer, Thomas de Thicknes, Walterus le Fox, Johannes Lightwodde, Thomas le Happe, Henricus Stanylowe, Johannes de<sup>1</sup> Madeleigh, Willelmus de Whitmore, Stephanus Sawmfayle, Willelmus Bradwall, Ricardus Chaumber, Ricardus le Bomme.

Johannes le Kene, senescallus eiusdem gilde.

Ricardus le Tupe, junior } hostiarii eiusdem gilde.

Rogerus le Hewster }

Thomas le Bowyer }

Henricus de<sup>2</sup> Stanylowe } receptores denariorum eiusdem gilde.

Thomas le Happe }

Stephanus Sawmfayle } pincerne eiusdem gilde.

Thomas Yorke electus est ad libertatem suam apud gildam predictam per decem solidos solvendo receptoribus denariorum ville equalibus porcionibus ad festum sancti Egidii et sancti Michaelis archangeli proximum futurum post datam presentem sine ulteriore dilacione sub condicione tamen quod dum trahit moram infra dictam libertatem sibi et heredibus suis bene et libere dictam libertatem obtinebit sin autem eandem libertatem amittet, plegios ex parte dicti Thome Johannem Yorke et Ricardum de Bomme.

Willelmus Wylkinson electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet unam marcam ad festum [sic] predictum et equalibus porcionibus per plegium Thomam Walthowe seniore.

Fol. 22  
verso.

Thomas Walthow junior electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub eadem condicione et solvet xs. sub forma predicta per plegium Ricardi Tupp junioris et Thome Walthow patris sui.

Thomas Taylor electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub eadem condicione et eadem forma et solvet xs. per plegium Johannis Pollarde et Ricardi de Boterton.

Willelmus Hardhed electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Thome Bowyer et Roberti Baron.

Stephanus le Hall electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Johannis Madeleigh et Stephani Sawmfayle.

<sup>1</sup> le, MS.<sup>2</sup> le, MS.

Willelmus Woodmorton electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Willelmi Parker et Johannis Bowyer.

Thomas Harper electus est ut supra et solvet xs. [per plegium] Ricardi Tup junioris et Willelmi Bradwalle.

Ricardus Sklatter electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Johannis Smyth et Adam Granehonger.

Nicholaus Kene electus est ad eandem libertatem per consensum xxiiijr seniorum [et] nichil solvet pro libertate sua.

Thomas de<sup>1</sup> Podmore, junior, electus est sub eadem forma qua Nicholai Kene, etc.

Thomas de Morton electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Stephani Sawmfaile.

Willelmus Aloms electus est ut supra et solvet unam marcam per plegium Willelmi Fulford et Adame Prestbury.

Willelmus Ychell electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Thome Happ et Thome Bowyer.

Thomas Baskervyle electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Adame Prestburye et Willelmi Parker.

Johannes Blackborne electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Henrici Wolle et Hugonis Prido'.

Thomas de Beigh electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Willelmi Hardshine.

Ricardus Chaloner piscator electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Agnetis Chaloner.

Johannes le Cartwright electus est ut supra et solvet xs. per plegium Ricardi Bonetable.

#### Summa *ixli. vid.*

Thomas Thicknes.  
Johannes Colcloughe.  
Thomas Bowyer.

1387 [1411].

Fol. 23.

Adam Dutton et Ricardus Walnall obligaverunt se in decem libris legalis monete ad gerendum pacem versus Willelmum Benitt et Ricardum Graue[n]honger in omnibus articlis quibus [*sic*] ad pacem pertinent citra xiii die mensis Julii anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie xiimo ad solvendum maiori et communitati ville Novicastro subtus Lymam.

Dictus Willelmus Benett et Ricardus Graue[n]honger obligaverunt se in decem libris legalis monete ad gerendum pacem versus Adam Dutton et Ricardum Walnall in omnibus articlis quibus ad pacem pertinent citra xiii die mensis Julii anno eiusdem regis xiimo.

[1389-90.]

Johannes Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie decimo tertio et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent fideliter faciendum fecit sacramentum suum.

Eodem die et anno Johannes Kene et Henricus Stanylow electi sunt ballivi ville predicte et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecerunt sacramentum et solvent firmam domini Ducis Lancastrie per plegios ex parte dicti Johannis Kene Thomam Bowyer et Gilbertum Bykerstath et ex parte predicti Henrici Willelmum Whitmore et Ricardum le Forde.

Eodem die et anno Henricus Breton electus est communis serviens et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecit

<sup>1</sup> le, MS.

sacramentum suum et solvet receptoribus ville vis. viiij<sup>d</sup>. pro officio suo per plegium Nicholai Chamber et Adam Breton.

Eodem die et anno Willelmus Chapmon et Johannes Aueray electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et ad omnia que officio custodis assise panis et servicie pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecerunt sacramentum suum.

Eodem die et anno Ricardus serviens Henrici Swerghston electus est ad libertatem dicte ville et solvet pro eadem xs. apud festum Natalis domini et Pasc[h]e proxime futurum post datam presentem equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Kene et Henrici Swerghston sub condicione, etc.

Eodem die et anno Willelmus Bradwall cepit de maiore et communitate predicte ville communem pistrinam tenendam sibi per unum annum integrum et reddendo inde predicto maiori et communitati quadraginta solidos bone et legalis monete terminis usualibus.

Fol. 23  
verso.

1392 [1394-95].

Johannes de Colclogh electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as on p. 161 above as far as "faciendum," except that the regnal year is "decimo octavo"] iuramentum prestitit corporale.

Dictis die et anno Ricardus de Womme [? Bomme] et Willelmus de Hanchirche electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecerunt iuramentum suum et solvent firmam ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium ex parte predicti Ricardi et Willelmi Thome Bowyer et Henrici Stanlow Radulphi Hoghe et Ricardi Sadler.

Dictis die et anno Willelmus Alot' electus est serviens eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio suo pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus denariorum ville vis. viiij<sup>d</sup>. pro officio suo per plegium Radulphi Hoghe et Jacobi de Thicknesse.

Dictis die et anno Willelmus Chapmon et Johannes Averay electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecerunt sacramentum suum.

Dictis die et anno Ricardus de Raynesforde electus est in libertatem dicte ville et solvet pro eadem unam marcam apud festum sancti Martini et Natalis domini equalibus porcionibus per plegium Ricardi Donis et Johannis Pollard, ita cum quod moretur infra libertatem predicte ville, etc.

Dictis die et anno Rogerus Unwyn electus est in eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xs. apud predictum festum [sic] per plegium Johannis Brodok et Thome Bowyer sub condicione et forma predictis, etc.

Dictis die et anno Thomas de Broddeley electus est in eandem libertatem et solvet xs. apud festa [predicta] et sub condicione predicta per plegium Johannis Boughey et Henrici Breton, etc.

Dictis die et anno Rogerus Baban, etc. [as Broddeley but the payment is "xss."] per plegium Thome Bowyer et Ricardi Redehodes.

Dictis die et anno Johannes de Sutton, etc. [as Broddeley but the payment is "unam marcam"] per plegium Willelmi de Hanchurch et Henrici Stanlowe.

Fol. 24.

Dictis die et anno Alicia Baban, etc. [as Broddeley] per plegium Thome le Bowyer et Henrici Stanlowe.

Dictis die et anno Robertus Harewodde, etc. [as Broddeley but the payment is "duas marcas"] per plegium Ricardi de Bomme.

Dictis die et anno Johannes de Lightwodde et Rondulphus de Buckenall electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum fecerunt iuramentum suum.

Dictis die et anno Willelmus de Bradwalle et Robertus Baxter ceperunt communem pistrinam de maiore et communitate ville tenendam sibi per

unum annum integrum [et] solvendi predicto maiori et communitati xls. bone et legalis monete terminis usualibus.

Dictis die et anno Henricus Mulewarde et Thomas Mulewarde ceperunt de predicto maiore et communitate molendinum ville tenendam sibi per unum annum integrum solvendi firmam domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus.

1393 [1395-96].

Willelmus de Thicknes electus est maior etc. [as on p. 161 above except that the regnal year is "xixmo," and the last three words "iuramentum fecit corporale"'].  
 Dictis die et anno<sup>1</sup> electi sunt ballivi, etc. [as on p. 161 above as far as "firmam"] ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium ex parte predicti.<sup>1</sup>

Dictis die et anno Johannes de Sutton electus est serviens predictae ville, etc. [as on pp. 161, 162 above as far as "officio suo," except that "iuramentum corporale" occurs instead of "sacramentum suum"] per plegium Jacobi de Thicknes et Johannis Clapham.

[Here two blank pages occur.]

Dictis die et anno Ricardus Lokesmith et Adam de Graue[n]ghonger electi sunt custodes assise panis et servicie et ad omnia que officio eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale.

Dictis die et anno Ricardus de Chamber et Rogerus Smyth tailor electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale.

Dictis die et anno Thomas Barbor electus est in libertatem predictae ville et solvet pro eadem xs. apud festum Pasc[h]e et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus per plegium Jacobi de Thicknesse et Nicolai de Thicknesse, ita tamen quod moretur infra libertatem predictae ville sin autem libertatem suam amittet.

Dictis die et anno Johannes Hosyer electus est in eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festum Nativitatis domini et Pasc[h]e per plegium Jacobi de Thicknesse et Johannis Fretter.

Dictis die et anno Ricardus Smallehoue electus est in eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem unam marcam apud festa limitata pro maiore<sup>2</sup> per plegium Johannis Swanylde et Nicholai Chambre.

Dictis die et anno Willelmus Bray<sup>s</sup> tailor electus est in eandem libertatem et sub condicione predicta et solvet xs. ad festum Pasc[h]e et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptista [sic] equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Prestbury et Johannis Hayward.

Die et anno supradictis Willelmus de Kylleforde electus est in dictam libertatem et solvet pro eadem xiiis. iiid. ad festum Pasc[h]e et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Roper sub condicione predicta.

Dictis die et anno Roger Smyth tailor et Roger Chamberlen' manuceperunt coram maiore pro Thoma de Kele videlicet quod geret pacem versus Emmotan' Sowft' sub pena centum solidorum videlicet infra libertatem et eorum, etc.

Die Jovis in festo sancti Andree Willelmus de Brerehurst venit in curiam coram maiore et invenit Johannem Swaynold et Johannem Pollarde plegios ad gerendum pacem Johanni fratri suo sub pena V librarum pro ipso contractarum et dictis die et anno idem Johannes invenit Henricum Brerehurst juniorem et Thomam Pownde plegios ad gerendum pacem dicto Willelmo sub pena V librarum pro eodem contractarum.

<sup>1</sup> Space for names occurs in MS.

<sup>2</sup> [Sic] Query per maiorem.

Fol. 25.

Guilda mercatoria burgi Novicastroi subtus Lymam die ibidem Martis Mercurii et Jovis in septimana Pentecostes et in tempore Willelmi de Thicknes tunc maioris predictae ville et eodem tempore subsequentes fuerunt primi xii<sup>m</sup> viz.,

*Prima Duodena.*

Thomas de Podmore.  
Johannes de Colcloughe.  
Ricardus Buntabull.  
Nicholaus Chamber.  
Johannes Kene.  
Thomas de Thicknes.  
Galfridus Stringer.  
Henricus de Swerghston.  
Willelmus Brompton.  
Hugo de Andurton.  
Thomas Bowyer.  
Adam de Presburie.  
Johannes Roper.  
Rogerus Letus.

Hostiarii eiusdem gilde { Ricardus Tup.  
Rogerus Heuster.

Receptores denariorum eiusdem gilde { Thomas Bowyer.  
Ricardus Sadler.

Pincerne eiusdem gilde { Johannes Swanylde.  
Willelmus Hanchurch.

Clericus eiusdem gilde, Johannes de Erdislowe.

Senescallus <sup>1</sup> eiusdem gilde, Johannes Kene.

Apud gildam predictam Robertus Graystones electus est ad libertatem suam pro xs. solvendis receptoribus denariorum gilde equalibus porcionibus ad festa Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et sancti Michaelis archangeli proxime futura post datam presentem sine ulteriore dilacione sub ista condicione cum quod dum tamen moratur (suam <sup>2</sup>) infra dictam libertatem sibi et heredibus suis bene et libere dictam libertatem obtinebit sin autem eandem libertatem amittet, per plegium Walteri Fox et Willelmi Bradwall.

Johannes Hawardin electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub eadem condicione et solvet pro eadem xs. per plegium Henrici de Dymesdalle.<sup>3</sup>

Willelmus de Trefforde electus est ad eandem libertatem et sub eadem condicione et solvet pro eadem xs. per plegium Johannis Pollarde et Johannis de Sutton.

Johannes de Brewodde electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "plegium"] Ricardi Tup, junioris.

Johannes de Mefforde electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "plegium"] Johannis de Bromley et Johannis Pollarde.

Robertus Baxster electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "plegium"] dicti Roberti, etc.

Willelmus Hanchurch electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "plegium"] dicti Willelmi, etc.

Johannes Tup electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "plegium"] Johannis Pollarde; postea cum assensu maioris et xxiiii<sup>or</sup> condonabantur plegium ei vs.

Ricardus de Bayswerke electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "xs."] pre manibus.

Robertus Halle electus est, etc. [as Trefforde as far as "xs."] apud festum sancti Egidii abbatis per plegium Jacobi de Thicknes.

*Secunda Duodena.*

Rogerus Fox.  
Johannes Lightwoode.  
Henricus Stanlew.  
Willelmus de Bradwall.  
Ricardus de Chamber.  
Ricardus de Womme.  
Jacobus de Thicknes.  
Willelmus de Hanchurch.  
Johannes Swanylde.  
Ricardus Tup.  
Johannes Pollarde.

<sup>1</sup> senescallis, MS.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe inserted suam, thinking he had written trahit moram.

<sup>3</sup> Wymesdalle, MS.

Willelmus Halle electus est ad eandem libertatem et nichil solvet pro eadem eo quod emptio condonabatur ei.

Helias Wor' capellanus electus est ad eandem libertatem et nichil solvet, etc.

Dominus Willelmus Benet rector electus est ad eandem libertatem et nichil solvet, etc.

Die Dominica proxima post festum Omnium sanctorum anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu vicesimo secundo [1398] Thomas Baskervyle et Henricus de Dymesdalle veniunt coram maiore et communitate et obligant se dictis maiori et communitati in viginti libris sterlingorum ad gerendum pacem Roberto de Lyrpole ex parte Rogeri Chamberlen' et filiorum Roberti Pylynge a dicto die usque ad festum sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequentem.

1396 [1398-99].

Fol. 26.

Thomas Podmore electus est maior Novicastri subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as on p. 161 above as far as "faciendum," except that the regnal year is "xxii'"] iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Johannes Swanylde et Johannes Pollarde electi sunt ballivi dicte ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Johannis Lightwodde et Willelmi Bradwall ex parte dicti Johannis Swanyld et per plegium Ricardi Tupp et Ricardi de Chambre ex parte dicti Johannis Pollard.

Henricus de Breton' electus est communis serviens dicte ville et ad omnia que officio suo pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville vis. viii*d.* per plegium Ricardi Breton et Johannis Breton.

Adam de Grauenhonger et Johannes de Clappeham electi sunt custodes assise panis et servisie et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum illorum fecerunt corporale.

Jacobus de Thicknes cepit de maiore et communitate dicte ville communem pistrinam tenendam sibi et suis per unum annum integrum cum secta dicte pistrine reddendo inde dictis maiori et communitati xls. bone et usualis monete terminis usualibus per plegium Henrici Dymesdale et Ricardi Madeley sadler.

Henricus Stanlowe et Willelmus Bome [? Wome] electi sunt receptores denariorum predicte ville et ad omnia que officio receptoris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Fletcher junior electus est ad libertatem suam eodem die et anno et solvet pro eadem xs. viz. vis. viii*d.* pre manibus sub ista condicione quod si moretur infra dictam libertatem habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis sin autem eandem libertatem amittet et de residuo dictorum xs. habebit gratiam.

Johannes Sherde electus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die et anno et solvet pro eadem vis. viii*d.* pre manibus et alios vis. viii*d.* in festo Nativitatis domini ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Nicholai de Thicknes et sub condicione predicta habebit dictam libertatem sibi et heredibus suis.

Willelmus Tailor del Bruggehous' electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xs. viz. dimidium pre manibus et aliud dimidium in festo Nativitatis domini ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Ricardi de Madeley sadler et sub condicione predicta habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis. Fol. 26 verso.

Robertus Bower electus est, etc. [as Tailor as far as "festum"] predicto per plegium Jacobi de Thicknes et Nicholai de Thicknes et habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis sub condicione predicta.

Rogerus de Benteley walker electus est, etc. [as Bower as far as "plegium"] Henrici Breton et habebit eandem libertatem sibi et, etc.

Thomas Byllynge capellanus electus est ad eandem libertatem et

solvat pro eadem pre manibus vis. viii*d.* et habebit eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta per plegium Johannis Swanylde.

Henricus Baban' electus est ad eandem libertatem eodem die et anno et solvet pre manibus pro eadem vis. viii*d.* et alios vis. viii*d.* in festo Nativitatis domini ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Henrici de Dymesdalle et habebit eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta, etc.

Willelmus Hardshine et uxor sua eodem die et anno venerunt coram maiore et communitate et obligaverunt se in viginti libris sterlingorum dictis maiori et communitati ad gerendum pacem pro eis et pro omnibus suis versus Ricardo Tup et Joanne [*sic*] uxori sue a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regis infra scripto usque ad idem festum anno eiusdem regis 23<sup>tio</sup> et dictus Ricardus et uxor sua obligaverunt se dictis maiori et communitati in viginti libris sterlingorum ad gerendum pacem pro eis et pro omnibus suis versus dicto Willelmo et uxori sue pro tempore predicto.

Dicto die Lune proximo post festum omnium sanctorum Johannes de Hayfelde capellanus, Johannes Smalle et Henricus Breton venerunt coram maiore et tota communitate et obligaverunt <sup>1</sup> se pro dicto Johanne Hayfelde et pro omnibus suis dicto maiori et communitati in viginti libris sterlingorum ad gerendum pacem Thome Byllynge capellano et Roberto Barbor a dicto die vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu xxiiij<sup>to</sup>.

Fol. 27.

1397 [1399-1400].

Willelmus Thicknes electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi a conquestu Anglie vicesimo tertio et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Jacobus Thicknes et Rogerus Taylor electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville dictis die et anno et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale; et solvent firmam Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Willelmi de Hanchirche et Johannis Roper ex parte dicti Jacobi et per plegium Ricardi Brokes et Thome Walthowe ex parte dicti Rogeri.

Richard Breton electus est communis serviens dicte ville et ad omnia que officio suo pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale; et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio suo vis. viii*d.* per plegium Henrici Breton et Johannis Erduslow.

Adam de Gravehonger et Robertus Bowyer electi sunt custodes assise panis et cervisie et ad omnia que officio eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Ricardus Brokes electus est ad libertatem prefate ville dictis die et anno et solvet pro eadem xiii*s.* iiiii*d.* viz. vis. viii*d.* pre manibus et vis. viii*d.* in festo Nativitatis ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Johannis Swanyld et habebit dictam libertatem sibi et heredibus suis, etc.

Johannes Sadler dictis die et anno electus est ad libertatem suam et solvet pro eadem xs., viz. vs. pre manibus et vs. in festo Nativitatis ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Henrici Breton et Ricardi Brokes sub condicione predicta.

Thomas Hunt dictis die et anno electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xs. sub condicione predicta et sub forma predicta per plegium Jacobi Thicknes et Nicholai Thicknes.

Henricus Kyde dictis die et anno electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xs. sub condicione et sub forma predictis per plegium Ricardi del Chambre et Willelmi de Bradwall.

<sup>1</sup> obligant, MS.

1401 [1400-01].

Fol. 27  
verso.

In hoc loco desiderantur primo anno regis Henrici quarti [*sic*].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu secundo et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Johannes Pollarde et ~~Rogerus Taylor~~<sup>1</sup> electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent domino Duci Lancastrie firmam terminis usualibus per plegium Johannis Swanylde et Willelmi de Hanchurch ex parte dicti Johannis Pollarde et per plegium Thome de Badiley et Johannis de Brerehurst ex parte dicti Henrici de Dymesdalle.

Henricus de Durton [?] Breton] electus est communis serviens eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio suo pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio suo vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Johannis Swanyld et Johannis de Prestburye.

Johannes de Yorke et Henricus Sharpe electi sunt custodes assise panis et cervisie et ad omnia que officio eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Erduslowe et Thomas Walthow junior electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio receptorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Roe electus est ad libertatem prefate ville dictis die et anno et solvet pro eadem xs. viz. vs. pre manibus et vs. in festo Nativitatis Domini ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Johannis de Yorke et Henrici Breton et habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis dum, etc.

Die Martis proximo ante festum sancti Egidii abbatis anno supradicto Ricardus Breton et Johannes Brerehurst venerunt coram maiore et aliis de xxiii<sup>or</sup> et devenerunt plegii ex parte Johannis Kyn' ad gerendum pacem Willelmo Benet et uxori eius et familie eius sub pena xxli. et Thomas Bowyer et Johannes Taylor devenerunt plegii ex parte dicti Willelmi et uxoris eius ad gerendum pacem dicto Johanni Kyn' et Elene de Lyme sub pena prenominata.

1402 [1401-02].

Fol. 28

Thomas Bowyer electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie tertio, et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale.

Adam de Colclough et Henricus de Stanlo electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville dictis die et anno et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Johannis Kene et Johannis de Brerehurst ex parte dicti Adame et per plegium Johannis Roper et Willelmi de Some ex parte dicti Henrici.

Ricardus Breton electus est communis serviens eodem die et anno et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville vis. viii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Johannis de Erduslowe et Johannis de Prestburie.

Stephanus de Hall et Henricus de Bradwall dictis die et anno ceperunt communem pistrinam de maiore et communitate cum secta eiusdem tenendam eis usque finem termini V annorum immediate sequentium et plenarie completorum et in fine dicti termini demittent dictam pistrinam in omnibus suis reparacionibus competenter reparatam per supervisionem maioris et communitatis tunc tempore existentium et solvent dictis maiori et communitati annuatim pro dicta firma xls. sterlingorum et ad totam predictam

<sup>1</sup> Erased in MS. : should be Henricus de Dymesdalle.

firmam ex parte predictorum Stephani et Henrici bene et fideliter faciendum dicti Stephanus et Henricus obligant se dictis maiori et communitati in xls. per plegium Henrici Burton ex parte dicti Stephani et per plegium Johannis de Yorke ex parte dicti Henrici.

Willelmus Chapmon et Johannes Frettar electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruisie dictis die et anno et ad omnia que officio custodum assise [pertinent] bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Thomas Kyde electus est ad libertatem dicte ville eodem die et anno et solvet pro eadem xs. viz. vs. pre manibus et vs. in festo Nativitatis Domini ex tunc proxime sequente per plegium Henrici Breton et Willelmi Parker.

Fol. 28  
verso.

1403 [1402-03].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie quarto et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Johannes Swanylde et Willelmus de Bome electi sunt ballivi dicte ville eodem die et anno et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium [ex parte] dicti Johannis Henrici de Stanlowe et Johannis de Prestbury et per plegium Adame de Colcloughe et Thome Tressege ex parte dicti Willelmi.

Ricardus Breton electus est communis serviens dicte ville et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Johannis Tup' et Thome Badeley.

Ricardus Tup et Johannes Brerehurst senior electi sunt receptores dicte ville et ad omnia que officio receptoris [pertinent] bene et fideliter faciendum, etc.

Johannes Byrom electus est ad libertatem dicte ville eodem die et anno et solvet pro eadem xiiis. iii<sup>id</sup>. pre manibus et habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis dum tamen moretur infra dictam libertatem sin autem amittet eandem.

Henricus Loue electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xiiis. iii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Johannis Rooper et Willelmi de Brompton pre manibus et habebit eandem sub condicione predicta.

Willelmus de Stanlowe electus est ad eandem libertatem et solvet pro eadem xs. pre manibus per plegium patris sui et habebit eandem sub condicione predicta.

Johannes de Bydulph filius Rogeri de Bidulph electus est ad dictam libertatem tenendam sibi et suis heredibus sub condicione predicta imperpetuum et dabit pro eadem receptoribus ville nomine eiusdem ville xxs., etc.

Die Jovis proximo ante festum sancti Mathie apostoli anno supradicto Thomas de Podmore, Jacobus de Thicknes, Henricus de Stanlowe et Thomas de Badelye veniunt coram maiore et obligant se dicto maiori et toti communitati ex parte Thome Hunt viz. ut idem Thomas Hunt geret pacem Johanni Kyn' per totum comitatum Staffordie sub pena xli<sup>s</sup>., et Johannes de Erduslow Ricardus Breton, Ricardus Brokes et Johannes de Brerehurst obligant se dictis maiori et communitati ex parte dicti Johannis Kyn' viz. ut idem Johannes Kyn' geret pacem predicto Thome Hunt per totum predictum comitatum sub pena xli<sup>s</sup>.

Fol. 29.

1404 [1403-04].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni

regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie quinto, et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale.

Johannes Swanylde et Willelmus Skytbye electi sunt ballivi dicte ville eodem die et anno, et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Jacobi de Thicknes et Johannis Pollarde ex parte predicti Johannis Swanylde et per plegium Willelmi de Hanchurch et Willelmi Bome ex parte prefati Willelmi Skitbye.

Henricus de Burton electus est communis serviens prefate ville eodem die et anno et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio suo vis. viiij. per plegium Johannis de Brerehurst et Radulphi Bower.

Johannes Pollarde et Ricardus Breton electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio receptoris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Radulphus Bower et Henricus Sharpe electi sunt custodes assise panis et cervisie et ad omnia que officio custodis assise pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Dictis die et anno Johannes Kyn[er] cepit de maiore et communitate ville unam shopam quam Ricardus Bontabell nuper tenuit tenendam sibi a data presentium usque finem termini duodecim annorum proxime sequentium et plenarie complendorum, reddendo inde annualiter predictis maiori et communitati quinque solidos sterlingorum ad duos annuos terminos in predicta villa statutos equalibus porcionibus, et si contingat predictum annualem redditum a retro esse in parte vel in toto post aliquem terminum constatur, tunc prefati maior et communitas et eorum successores in predicta shopa ac in omnibus terris et tenementis que predictus Johannes Kyner tenet distringant et restrictiones secum retinent donec de predicto annuali redditu qui a retro fuerit omnis plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Insuper idem Johannes Kyner totam predictam shopam sumptibus suis propriis competenter reparabit et sustentabit per supervisionem predictorum maioris et communitatis et in fine eiusdem termini eandem shopam competenter reparatam et sustentatam dimittet per supervisionem predictorum maioris et communitatis et eorum successorum.

1404.

Fol. 29  
verso.

Dictis die et anno Henricus Breton cepit de maiore et communitate unum tenementum cum pertinentiis quod Ricardus Crake merch' nuper tenuit de predictis maiore et communitate tenendum prefato Henrico a data presentium usque finem termini sex annorum tunc proxime sequentium reddendo inde annualiter predictis maiori et communitati et eorum successoribus decem solidos sterlingorum ad duos annuos terminos in dicta villa statutos equalibus porcionibus et prefati reparabunt et sustentabunt durante termino predicto.

Dictis die et anno Willelmus Hardshine venit et cepit de maiore et communitate unam shopam tenendam sibi usque ad finem vite sue, reddendo inde annualiter dictis maiori et communitati et eorum successoribus iiii. ad duos annuos terminos in dicta villa statutos equalibus porcionibus; et si contingat dictus annualis redditus a retro est in parte vel in toto per quindecim dies post aliquem terminum prenommatum, tunc bene liceat predictis maiori et communitati et eorum successoribus in dicta shopa libere ingredi et illam penes illos et eorum assignatos retinere, et prefatus Willelmus totam predictam shopam sumptibus suis propriis durante vita sua competenter reparabit et sustentabit et in fine vite sue illam competenter reparatam et sustentatam dimittet per supervisionem maioris et communitatis ibidem tunc temporis existentium.

Ricardus Tup cepit de maiore et communitate shopam suam tenendam sibi secundum formam et modum supradictos.

Willelmus Alot cepit de maiore et communitate shopam suam tenendam sibi secundum modum et formam supradictos.

Ricardus Breton cepit de maiore et communitate shopam quam Rondulphus Buckanalle tenuit reddendo inde annualiter vs. secundum, etc.

Johannes Tup venit et cepit de maiore et communitate shopam nuper Rondulphi Clerkson reddendo inde annualiter vs. secundum modum, etc.

Willelmus Willeson cepit de maiore et communitate shopam nuper Ricardi Breton, reddendo inde annualiter iiis. secundum modum, etc.

Willelmus Parker cepit de maiore et communitate shopam quam antea tenuit, reddendo inde annualiter iiis. secundum, etc.

Thomas Walthowe junior cepit de maiore et communitate shopam quam pater suus antea tenuit, reddendo inde annualiter vs., etc.

Rondulphus de Buckanal cepit de maiore et communitate shopam quam Ricardus Tup senior antea tenuit, tenendam sibi et suis usque ad finem vite sue, reddendo inde annualiter iiis. ad terminos usuales et dictam shopam sumptibus suis propriis reparabit et sustentabit.

Fol. 30.

1405 [1404-05].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie sexto et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale.

Jacobus de Thiknes et Johannes Pollarde electi sunt ballivi predicte ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Adame de Colcloghe et Willelmi de Hanchurch ex parte predicti Jacobi et per plegium Johannis Swanylde et Rogeri Smyth tailor ex parte predicti Johannis Pollarde.

Ricardus Chamber et Thomas Cressage electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville predicte et ad omnia que officio receptoris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale.

Henricus Breton electus est communis serviens eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio suo vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Ricardi Breton et n : [sic], etc.

Henricus Sharpe et Rondulphus Bower electi sunt custodes assise panis et cervisie et ad omnia que officio custodis assise pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum fecerunt corporale.

Willelmus de Lawton electus est ad libertatem prefate ville et habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis dum tamen moretur infra libertatem predictam alioquin amittet eandem; et solvet pro eadem libertate xs. apud festum sancti Martini in [Hieme] et Nativitatis Domini equalibus porcionibus per plegium Adame de Colclogh.

Ricardus Mayot carnifex electus est ad eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xiiis. iii<sup>id</sup>. apud festa predicta per plegium Johannis Swanylde.

Ricardus Boughey electus est ad libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. in forma predicta per plegium Johannis Pollarde.

Johannes Oulecote electus est ad eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. apud predicta festa equalibus porcionibus per plegium Ricardi Breton et Johannis Erduslowe.

Ricardus Graie electus est ad eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. apud predicta festa equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Pollarde et Adame Colcloughe.

Fol. 30  
verso.

Abbey Hilton.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes visuris vel audituris maior et communitas burgi Novicacstri subtus Lymam, salutem in Domino sempi-

ternam, Noverit universitas vestra nos pro nobis et heredibus et successoribus nostris concessisse abbati et conuentui de Hultona et eorum successoribus quod ipse et confratres eiusdem domus habitum portantes libertatem habeant imperpetuum emendi simul et vendendi in dicto burgo Novicastri tam de coriis recentibus et salsis quam de vniuersis animalium ad opus ipsorum et commodum et victum necessariorum generibus vbicunque quantumcunque et quandocunque sibi melius et comodius viderint et intellexerint expedire.

Homines vero predicti abbatis et conuentus super terra eorum residentes suprascriptis priuilegiis huius conuencionis ratione non gaudebunt sed in dicto burgo vendicionem simul et emptionem de propriis et ad vsum proprium pertinentibus imperpetuum obtinebunt absque calumpnia seu contradictione sicut ante presentis conuencionis confeccionem facere consueuerunt. Si vero contingat, quod absit, abbatem, monachum vel aliquem confratrem dicte domus bona cuiuscunque non tamen propria aduocare si super hoc legitime per bonos et fidedignos conuicti fuerint ipso iure libertatem dictam amittent. Si qua vero taxacio in dicto burgo necessitate (?) <sup>1</sup> urgente communi (?) <sup>2</sup> facta fuerit per exactionem alicuius, predicti abbas et conuentus secundum tenementum et libertatem quod in ipso burgo possident racionabiliter et moderate taxabuntur.

Pro hac autem concessione libertatis predictae imperpetuum obtinende vt predictum est, dederunt predicti abbas et conuentus communitati ville predictae centum solidos argenti pre manibus. In cuius rei testimonium vna pars huius scripti versus abbatem et conuentum et eorum successores remanens sigillo communitatis dicti burghi roboratur, alia communitati dicti burghi remanens impressione sigilli dictorum abbatis et conuentus solidatur. Hiis testibus: Thoma Forestario tunc maiore dicti burghi, Radulpho <sup>3</sup> et Willelmo filio Swanylde tunc balliuis, Henrico de Thickenes monacho [mcho] de eadem, Johanne filio Thome, Thoma fratre eius, Henrico de Onileigh et multis aliis.

Henri, etc. A nostre auditour de nostre duchie de Lancastre deinz le count[e] de Stafford saluz. Come de nostre grace especial eons pardonez et relessez a nos poueres tenantz de nostre duchie de Lancastre <sup>4</sup> lez burges de Novel Chastell soubs Lyme vynt marcz par an de la ferme de quarante livres queles ils devient a nous paier annuelement pour nous [sic] molyns illeoquez si come en nos lettres patentes ent faitz, a durers tancome ferrons au[t]res nos mandentz al contraeis, est conteniz pluis au plein, vous mandons que nos receueris et provost de nostre manior de Novel Castell en lour accompt deuant vous a rendre facez allouer vyng' marcz de la dite ferme des quarrant' livres a nous ensy apparers annuellement tanq[uant] vous en eiez aut[r]es mandement de nous de la contraeir et cestes nos lettres vos en serront garrant. Datum [sic] soubz le sealle de nostre duchie de Lancastre a nostre palays de Westm[inster] le xij iour de Feurier.<sup>5</sup>

per billam indorsatam per Hughe de Waterton.

1406 [1405-06].

Fol. 31.

Thomas Bowyer electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie septimo et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

<sup>1</sup> nar, MS.

<sup>2</sup> coñ, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Surname missing.

<sup>4</sup> nostre de duchie Lancastre, MS.

<sup>5</sup> The charter to the burgesses reducing the farm bears the same date (Duchy of Lanc. 42/16, fol. 22, under *grants* of the sixth year). I owe this reference to Mr. V. H. Galbraith, of the Public Record Office, who was unable to find an enrolment of the above order.

Ricardus Breton et Thomas Wyger electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Willelmi Skitbie et Johannis Erduslowe ex parte predicti Ricardi et per plegium Johannis Hondson et Thome Cressege ex parte predicti Thome.

Henricus Breton electus est communis serviens dicte ville et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eis fecit corporale et solvet pro officio suo vis. viiij. per plegium Stephani Madeleye et Johannis Tup.

Ricardus Madeley et Stephanus Madeley electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Fretter et Radulphus Bowyer electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruisie et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Thomas Bene electus est ad libertatem predicte ville dictis die et anno et habebit eandem sibi et heredibus suis dum tamen moretur infra villam predictam aliquin amittet eandem et solvet ville pro eadem xs. ad festa Nativitatis Domini et Pasc[h]e per plegium Johannis Prestbury, etc.

Thomas Penor electus est ad eandem libertatem sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem receptoribus ville xs. ad festa predicta equalibus porcionibus per plegium Jacobi de Thickenes et Willelmi Skitbie.

Fol. 31  
verso.

1407 [1406-07].

Johannes de Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie octavo et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Willelmus Colclough et Johannes Pollarde electi sunt ballivi predicte ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecerunt corporale et solvent domino Duci Lancastrie firmam ville terminis usualibus per plegium Adame de Colcloughe et Hugonis Barton ex parte predicti Willelmi et per plegium Willelmi Skitbye et Ricardi Breton ex parte predicti Johannis.

Ricardus Lilshul electus est communis serviens prefate ville et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio suo vis. viiij. per plegium Johannis de Prestburye, etc.

Ricardus Bonde et Johannes Tup electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Fretter et Radulphus Bowyer electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruisie et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Robertus Walker electus est ad libertatem predicte ville dictis die et anno et habebit illam sibi et heredibus suis dum trahit moram suam infra eandem libertatem, aliquin amittet illam, et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa Purificacionis Beate Marie Virginis et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Sadler et Ricardi Lilshul.

Willelmus Saintamount electus est [ad] eandem libertatem et habebit illam sibi et heredibus suis sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xiis. ad festa Nativitatis Domini, Pasche et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus per plegium Jacobi de Thicknes et Hugonis de Barton.

Henricus Tup electus est ad eandem libertatem et habebit illam sibi et heredibus suis sub condicione predicta ; et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa

Purificacionis Beate Virginis et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus per plegium Ricardi Tup et Johannis Tup.

1408 [1407-08].

Fol. 32.

Thomas<sup>1</sup> Thickenes electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie nono et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Willelmus Skitbie et Ricardus Breton electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale; et solvent firmam ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Ricardi Madeley et Hugonis Barton ex parte predicti Willelmi et per plegium Willelmi Hanchurch et Henrici Brerihurst ex parte predicti Ricardi.

Henricus Breton electus est communis serviens prefate ville et ad omnia que officio eius pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale; et solvet receptoribus ville pro officio vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. per plegium Jacobi Thicknes et Adame Breton.

Thomas Walthowe et Johannes Yorke electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruisie et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Willelmus Barbour electus est ad libertatem predicte ville et habebit illam sibi et heredibus suis dum trahit moram suam infra eandem libertatem, alioquin amittet illam; et solvet pro eadem xs. ad 3 anni terminos viz. ad festa Nativitatis Domini, Pasche et Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste equalibus porcionibus.

Hugo de Barton et Thomas Wyger electi sunt receptores denariorum communitatis ville predicte et ad omnia que officio receptoris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Crodok et Willelmus Kilforde electi sunt superuiores ecclesie et receptores denariorum collectorum in ecclesia et ad omnia que officio eorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Memorandum quod Ricardus Breton, Johannes Byrom, Stephanus Hale et Stephanus Madeley firmarii ville solverunt maiori et communitati xxxviii. xvis. i<sup>id</sup>. pro terminis Annuntiacionis Beate Marie Virginis et sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti viii<sup>vo</sup> viz. x marcas communi pixidi et residuum.<sup>2</sup>

Johannes Rokeleye electus est ad libertatem ville predicte et habebit illam sibi et heredibus suis sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. apud festa predicta per plegium Adame Breton et Johannis Mocok.

Galfridus Podmore electus est ad libertatem predicte ville et habebit eandem sibi et heredibus suis sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa predicta per plegium Johannis Bedulfe, Adame Colcloughe et Ricardi Tup. Fol. 32 verso.

1409 [1408-09].

Johannes Colclough electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie decimo et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Johannes Budulfe et Hugo de Barton electi sunt ballivi predicte ville

<sup>1</sup> Willelmus crossed out in MS.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is evidently incomplete.

et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale; et solvent firmam ville domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus per plegium Willelmi Kilforde et Johannis Pollard ex parte predicti Hugonis et per plegium Willelmi Skitbie et Johannis Swanyld ex parte predicti Johannis Budulf.

Henricus de Burton [? Breton] electus est communis serviens prefate ville et ad omnia que officio servientis pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale; et solvet ville pro officio suo vis. viiij. per plegium Henrici Bret'.

Radulphus Bowyer et Johannes Fretter electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruise et ad omnia que officio custodis assise pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Adam de Burton electus est ad libertatem predictae ville et habebit eandem sibi et heredibus suis procreatis et procreandis imperpetuum dum trahit moram infra predictam libertatem, alioquin amittet [eandem]; et solvet pro eadem xs. in festis Nativitatis Domini et Pasche per plegium Ricardi Tup et Adame Breton.

Nicholaus Chilton electus est ad predictam libertatem predictis die et anno sub condicione predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa predicta equalibus porcionibus per plegium Willelmi Skitbie.

Robertus de Blackamore electus est ad predictam libertatem sub forma predicta et solvet pro eadem xliiij. ad festa predicta equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Brerehurst et Ricardi de Madeley.

Thomas Taylor electus est ad predictam libertatem sub forma predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa predicta equalibus porcionibus per plegium Henrici Brerehurst et Rogeri Baban.

Henricus Stuger wright electus est ad libertatem sub forma predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad festa predicta equalibus porcionibus per plegium Johannis Brerehurst et Johannis Fretter.

Thomas Thickenes electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie undecimo et ad omnia que officio maioris pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum suum fecit corporale.

Willelmus Bome et Thomas Cressage electi sunt ballivi predictae ville et ad omnia que officio ballivorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale et solvent firmam domino Duci Lancastrie terminis usualibus equalibus porcionibus per plegium Ricardi Tup et Johannis Pollard ex parte predicti Willelmi et per plegium Hugonis de Barton et Ricardi Madeley ex parte predicti Thome.

Adam de Burton electus est communis serviens prefate ville et solvet pro officio servientis receptoribus ville vis. viiij. per plegium Rondulphi de Buckenall.

Willelmus de Cnotton et Radulphus Bowyer electi sunt custodes panis et ceruise et ad omnia que officio illorum pertinent bene et fideliter faciendum iuramentum eorum fecerunt corporale.

Johannes Bikley de comitatu Cestrie electus est in libertatem predictae ville et habebit eandem sibi et heredibus suis dum trahit moram suam infra predictam libertatem, alioquin non habebit eandem; si contingat in futurum predictam ordinationem libertatis apud aliquam gildam vel leetnam mutari tunc idem Johannes habebit eandem libertatem sibi et heredibus suis secundum ordinationem prefate gilde; et solvet pro eadem receptoribus ville xls. sterlingorum per plegium Willelmi Swanylde et Johannis de Prestbury viz. ad festa Nativitatis Domini et Pasche equalibus porcionibus.

Thomas Mocok electus est [ad] predictam libertatem sub condicione

predicta et solvet pro eadem xs. ad predictos terminos equalibus porcionibus per plegium Hugonis de Barton et Johannis Erduslowe.

Thomas Thickenes, maior.

Johannes Colcloughe.

Thomas Bowyer.

Johannes Swerkeston.

Thomas Hunt.

Johannes Pollarde.

Willelmus Bome.

Thomas Cressage.

Hugo Barton.

Ricardus Madeley.

Ricardus Tup.

Ricardus Chamber.

Johannes Tup.

1411 [1410-11].

Johannes Colclough electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti a conquestu Anglie duodecimo et ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent durante termino suo et ad hoc [*sic*] fecit sacramentum.

Johannes Pollarde et Stephanus Madeley electi sunt ballivi eiusdem ville eodem die et anno et ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad eorum officium pertinent durante termino et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum ; et solvent domino Duci Lancastrie vel suis ballivis firmam dicte [ville] debitam terminis usualibus et salvabunt maiorem et communitatem versus dictum dominum Ducem et quoscumque indempnes et ad hoc invenerunt plegios viz. pro Johanne Pollarde Johannem Swanylde et Willelmum Skitbie, pro Stephano Madeley Ricardum Breton et Thomam Cressage.

Henricus Breton electus est serviens eodem die et anno ad faciendum omnia que de iure pertinent ad officium [servientis] et fecit sacramentum ; et dabit pro officio vis. viiij. [per] plegium pro eo Ricardi Breton.

Johannes Fretter et Radulphus Bowyer electi sunt custodes assise panis et ceruisie et fecerunt sacramentum.

Robertus Blythfeilde capellanus receptus est ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et solvet xs. ad festum Purificacionis Beate Marie et invenit plegios, Henricum Breton et Radulphum Bowyer.

Hugo Horsley, paver, receptus est ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et utatur sua propria arte et solvet xs. ad festum Purificacionis Beate Marie Virginis per plegium Johannis Hondson.

Willelmus Rughhedde putis receptus est ad libertatem eiusdem ville sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa et utatur sua propria arte ; et solvet xs. ad festum predictum per plegium Johannis Tup, etc.

In hoc loco desiderantur ultimi anni regis Henrici quarti, toti regis Henrici quinti, Henrici sexti, Edwardi quarti, Edwardi quinti, Ricardi tertii, et V primi anni regis Henrici septimi.

## APPENDIX G.

MINUTES OF ELECTIONS OF BOROUGH OFFICERS, ETC.

1490-1510.

(*In the custody of the Town Clerk.*)

1491 [1490-91].

Fol. 34.

Hugo Eggerton armiger electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam, Johannes White deputatus suus, ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum in

festo sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici Septimi post conquestum Anglie sexto.

Thomas Vernon electus est ballivus pro xxiiiior, plegii et securitates pro eo Willelmus Norres et Johannes Leighton ad salvandum maiorem et communitatem indampnes et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale.

Jacobus Hyndeley electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Edwardus Royley et Randulphus Rowley ad salvandum maiorem et communitatem indampnes et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale.

Johannes Castnell electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates Rogerus Bagnold et Thomas Crosse pro dicto Johanne ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale ad firmiter custodiendum suos prisiones [ac] gaolam domini regis sub pena *vli*.

Robertus Astley electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale.

Willelmus Norres et Willelmus Wodde electi sunt constabularii ville predicte et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Willelmus Jonson et Johannes Rane electi sunt receptores ville predicte et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum [ad faciendum omnia] que de iure pertinent ad officium.

Johannes Leighton et Willelmus Coldall electi sunt gardiani ecclesie et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Johannes Hull et Ricardus Sturrope electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum suum corporale quod ad officium suum pertinet.

*Hi sunt pro xxiiiior.*

Hugo Bagenal.	Johannes Worsley.	Thomas Vernon.
Willelmus Norres.	Johannes Leighe.	Johannes Leighton.
Ricardus Smyth.	Thomas Leigh.	Jacobus Hindley.
Ricardus Pateson.	Willelmus Jonson.	

*Hi sunt pro communitate.*

Jacobus Madeley.	Rogerus Bagnold.	Willelmus Coldall.
Edwardus Royley.	Johannes Castnell.	Ricardus Mylns.
Johannes Rane.	Randulphus Rowley.	Ricardus Cooke.
Thomas Birkes.	Thomas Crockett.	Ricardus Throp.

Fol. 34  
verso.

Ricardus Holl' electus est ad libertatem suam ville predicte sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa, dans et concedens et reddens cum predicta villa [sin autem amittet libertatem suam quousque in predicam villam] reueniet et propter hanc libertatem solvet receptoribus ville predicte *xs.*, viz. *vs.* pre manibus et alios *vs.* infra annum, sin autem amittet libertatem predictam.

Thomas Vernon et Roger[us] Bagnalt receptores ville predicte computant coram maiore et fratribus suis die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Edmundi anno supradicto,<sup>1</sup> computatis computandis, allocatis allocandis, et predicti Thomas et Rogerus debent ville *xiiis. xd.*

Willelmus Norres et Thomas Birchs prepositi ecclesie ville predicte computaverunt coram maiore et fratribus suis, computatis computandis, allocatis allocandis, die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Edmundi anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum Anglie sexto; et predicti Willelmus et Thomas sunt in debito ville *viis.*

We the maior and his aldermenn with the great inquest and the small

<sup>1</sup> 26 November, 1490.

with a whole assent and consent present and saye that the gappe of Richarde Colcloughes grounde goinge into the redde feilde shal be the common gappe to serve the aforesaid feild, and whome so ever haeth any grounde in that feild to helpe him to tyne ytt up in tyme of yeare, and the gap goinge into the Whitacurs of maister Wodds ground to be the common gappe to serve that flatt, and also the gappe out of the Dead Man's Lane into the grounde of Chamburs betwene the Dove House Croft of John Coke and the croft of John White for to followe the hadinge after the dyche to serve the mydle flatt betwene Brompton and the redde flatt, and for to have a bridle waye betwene the castell and Wolstanton, and also Brompton yat to serve Brompton hill.

Also Mr. Maior we require you that ye suffer not no man to beare anie unlawfull weapon within the towne contrarie to the King's peace, eyther or ells hould us excused for we will not come at you and ye have neede.

*Inquisitio Magna.*

Hugh Bagnalt.  
William Norres.  
Richard Smyth.  
Richard Patson.

Johannes Leighe.  
Thomas Leighe.  
William Jonson.  
John Leighton.

John Rane.  
James Madeley.  
Edward Royley.  
Thomas Birchs.

*Inquisitio Parva.*

Roger Bagnalt.  
William Coldall.  
Richard Mylns.  
Richard Throp.

Thomas Crockett.  
William Orpe.  
William Wodde.  
Richard Cooke.

Roberte Leighe.  
Thomas Crosse.  
Thomas Clayton.  
Richard Hyndley.

Hit is to have in mynde that on Tuesdaye next after St. Mathew daye **Fol. 35.** the apostle the yeare and raigne of Kinge Henrie the VIIth after the conquest of Englande sexto,<sup>1</sup> wheiras Richard Patson dissobeyde the maior, the maior and his counsell dismytt him of his franchises for his offence, and we the maior and xxiiiior are agreed that the said Richard shall have his franchises againe, by the desire of the said Richard, payinge theirfore half a millesimo shingles for to be layd upon the church betwixt this and All Hallow daye next cominge for the offence that we fynde against our maior, uppon payne of forfettinge his franchises for evermore.

The daye and yeare aforesaid wheiras William Norres dissobeyed the maior, and the maior and his counsell dismytted him of his franchises for the offence, we the maior and xxiiiior are agreed that the said William shall have his franchises agayne, by the desire of the said William, payinge theirfore a pound of wax in a surge upon All Hallowe day in the morninge next at service tyme<sup>2</sup> his owne proper body and oblyche him selfe and desire him to be his good maister, and his good maior in his office, beinge upon the paine aforesaide.

The same daye and yeare wheiras William Coldalle dissobeyd the maior, and the maior and his counsell dismytt him of his franchises, we the maior and xxiiiior are agreed that the said William shall have his franchises agayne, by the desyre of the said William, paying theirfore *iii*l. of wax in surges upon All Saintes' day in the morninge next at service tyme his owne proper bodye and obliche him selfe and desire him to be his good maister and his good maior in his office, being upon the payne aforesaid.

The same daye and yeare wheiras James Madeley dissobeyed the maior and the maior and his counsell dismytt him of his franchises, we the maior and xxiiiior are agreed that the said James shall have his franchises agayne, by the desyre of the said James, payinge theirfore *iii*l. of wax in a surge upon All Hallow daye next cominge in the morninge at service tyme his own

<sup>1</sup> 28 September, 1490.

<sup>2</sup> Omission in MS.

proper person and obliche him selfe and desire him to be his good master and his good maior in his office, beinge upon the paine aforesaid.

The daye and yeare aforesaid Thomas Smyth neylor dissobeyed the maior and the maior and his counsell dismyt him of his franchises for his offence, we the maior and xxiii<sup>or</sup> are agreed that the said Thomas shall have his franchises againe, by the desire of the said Thomas, payinge theirfore 1*li*. of wax in a surge upon Alhollowe daye, and further doinge as afore is sett downe.

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verso.

Hit is to have in mynde that uppon Monday next before St. Thomas daye the martyr the yeare and raigne of Kinge Henrie the VII<sup>th</sup>, the VII<sup>th</sup> yeare, wheiras James Hindley, Raufe Rouley and William Hyndley dissobeyed the maior, and the maior and his counsell dismytt them of their franchises we the maior and xxiii<sup>or</sup> are agreed that the said James Raffe and William shall have their franchises agayne at their earnest desire, payinge theirfore xxs. to be paid betwixt<sup>1</sup> and St. Giles day the abbott next and of that xxs. by the desyre of his bretheren to be pardoned xv<sup>is</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. and that it be paid at that daye before named uppon payne of forfettinge their franchises for evermore.

Memorandum quod Willelmus Jonson et Willelmus Coldall prepositi ecclesie ville predicte computaverunt coram maiore et ballivis et fratribus suis in curia ibidem tenta die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum Anglie septimo, computatis, computandis, allocatis allocandis; et predicti Willelmus Coldalle et Willelmus Jonson debent ville predicte iis. viii<sup>d</sup>. ob. vacatur.

Memorandum quod Thomas Leighe et Johannes Leighton prepositi ecclesie computaverunt die et anno supradicto et debent ville predicte viis. id. vacatur.

Willelmus Glover debet ville predicte iis. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Roger Gate debet ville Novicastro predicte vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Memorandum quod Johannes Leighton et Willelmus Coldalle prepositi ecclesie predicte computaverunt coram maiore et fratribus suis die et anno supradictis et debent ville xxxiis. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. vacatur.

Memorandum that John Worseley and his three children do owe for lyinge in the churche vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Memorandum that Robert Brett is in debte for lyinge in the churche iis. iiiii<sup>d</sup>.

Thomas Byv'nson and Richarde Patson haue a parcell of sope theirfore.

Fol. 36.

1492 [1491-92].

Johannes Coke electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam ad faciendum omnia que ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale die Martis proximo post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum Anglie septimo.

Johannes Leighton electus est ballivus pro xxiii<sup>or</sup>, plegii pro eo Willelmus Norres et Willelmus Jonson ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Eduerdus Royley electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii pro eo Thomas Leighe et Rogerus Bagnalt vt salvet maiorem et communitatem eiusdem ville indampnes, etc. [as p. 176].

Ricardus Mylnes electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii pro eo Willelmus Cowdale et Thomas Crockytt et ad faciendum omnia que ad officium suum pertinent et super hoc fecit sacramentum suum corporale.

Willelmus Beswicke electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Jacobus Hyndeley et Thomas Clayton, junior, electi sunt receptores ville ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium eorum pertinent et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

<sup>1</sup> Omission in MS.

Willelmus Jonson et Johannes Castnell electi sunt constabularii ville, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Vernon et Willelmus Coldalle electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ville predicte, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Mathowe et Johannes Fishare electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium eorum pertinent et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum, etc.

*Hec [sic] sunt pro xxiiii<sup>or</sup>.*

Hugo Bagnalt, senior.	Thomas Leighe.	Johannes Leighton.
Willelmus Norres	Ricardus Patson.	Jacobus Hyndley.
Ricardus Smythe.	Willelmus Jonson.	Edwardus Roylie.
Johannes Leighe.	Thomas Vernon.	

*Hi sunt pro communitate.*

Johannes Colcloughe.	Rogerus Bagnalt.	Willelmus Coldalle.
Jacobus Madeley.	Johannes Castnell.	Ricardus Mylnes.
Johannes Rane.	Radulphus Rowleighe.	Ricardus Cooke.
Thomas Birks.	Thomas Crockytt.	Ricardus Thropp.

1493 [1492-93].

Fol. 36  
verso.

Radulphus Delves electus est maior ville Novicastri subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as on p. 178 except that the regnal year is "octavo" and the clause "ad faciendum" to "corporale" comes last].

Jacobus Hindley electus est ballivus pro xxiiii<sup>or</sup>, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Leighe et Thomas Vernon ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Jacobus Madeley electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Johannes Rane et Thomas Byrkes ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Ricardus Cooke electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Radulphus Rowleighe et Thomas Crosse ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176, except "carcerarios" instead of "prisones" and "centum solidorum" instead of "vli.," and the clause "et super" to "corporale" comes last].

Ranulphus Norres electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Vernon et Willelmus Coldalle electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium eorum pertinent et super, etc. [as p. 176].

Willelmus Norres et Radulphus Rowleighe electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium eorum pertinent et super hoc fecerunt, etc.

Johannes Simson et Ricardus Hyndley carnifex electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie, etc. [as p. 179 above].

Johannes Leighton et Ricardus Thropp electi sunt receptores ville predicte ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad etc. et super hoc, etc.

*pro xxiiii<sup>or</sup>.*

Hugo Bagnalt.	Thomas Leighe.	Johannes Leighton.
Willelmus Norres.	Ricardus Patson.	Jacobus Hyndley.
Ricardus Smythe.	Willelmus Jonson.	Edwardus Royley.
Johannes Leighe.	Thomas Vernon.	Jacobus Madeley.

Fol. 37.

*Hec [sic] sunt pro communitate.*

Johannes Colcloughe.	Johannes Castnell.	Ricardus Mylnes.
Johannes Rane.	Radulphus Rowleighe.	Ricardus Cooke.
Thomas Byrks.	Thomas Crockitt.	Ricardus Thropp.
Rogerus Bagnalt.	Willelmus Coldalle.	Thomas Clayton.

Hugo Cordyn electus est ad libertatem ville Novicastro subtus Lymam vbicumque dictus Hugo maneat tam infra libertatem quam extra sub ista condicione quod dabit et reddat [*sic*] cum predicta villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam et propter hanc libertatem solvet receptoribus ville predictæ xs. viz. vs. pre manibus et alteros vs. infra annum, sin autem amittet libertatem suam.

Willelmus Wright electus est ad libertatem suam ville predictæ sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem ville dans et concedens et reddens cum predicta villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam quousque in predicta villa remaneat et propter, etc. [as Cordyn].

Hit is to haue in mynde that Hughe Bagnalt the elder putteth him to the order and rule of Mr. Maior and his bretheren of the xxiiii<sup>or</sup> of all such accions and causes that are betwixt William Norres and him and is readie to abyde the order of them.

The great inquest and the smalle with the maior and his bretheren with assent and consent presenten' and bin agreed that John Leighton, Edward Royley, John Rane and Thomas Birkes shall haue the oversight of saint Sondes cote to be kept in the roade seller with the oversight of the priest that sings before saint Sonday to the most profit and worship to the aforesaid chappell, so that the overseers be changed from yere to yere, and two keys made and one delyuered ouer to the preist and the other to the iiij wardens.

It is to haue in mynde that agrement and afulcorde [a full accord] is made betwene John Leighton and William Kinge then of Sumerfull of all accions and claymes that may be made of lands or of goodes or ells of any howsinge by the maior his bretheren and xxiiii<sup>or</sup> that the aforesaid William shall delyuer all evedence and writings that belongs to the lands in the Newcastle, nor hurt nor truble the aforesaid John Leighton nor his heirs and thei to he is sworne on a booke at our great courte before the maior and his bretheren.

Fol. 37  
verso.

1494 [1493-94].

Johannes Leigh electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 178, except that the regnal year is "nono" and the clause "ad faciendum" to "corporale" comes last].

Edwardus Royley electus est ballivus pro viginti quatuor, plegii et securitates pro eo Johannes Leighton et Willelmus Woode ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Byrkes electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Edmundus Mathew et Ricardus Hall ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179 re Ricardus Cooke "serviens," but ends at "sub pena, etc."].<sup>1</sup>

Willelmus Beswicke electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Rogerus Bagnalt et Ricardus Cooke ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Radulphus Rowleigh electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Jacobus Hyndley et Ricardus Cooke electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Jacobus Madeley et Willelmus Coldalle electi sunt receptores ville predictæ ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the scribe has accidentally transferred to the bailiff the duties of the serjeant as given in the next paragraph.

Ricardus Patson et Thomas Clayton electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ville predictæ et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Ricardus Hall et Willelmus Wright electi sunt attestatores panis et ceruisie, etc. [as p. 179].

John Leighton and Richarde Thropp haue made their accompt before the maior and his bretheren on Tuesday before the feast of St. Katherine the virgen, and all things counted and alowed, and thaforesaid John and Richard bin in debt xis. x*d*. vacatur. **Fol. 38.**

Hughe Bagnold debet iiii*s*. for his shop rent.

James Hyndley and Thomas Cleyton receyvors have accompted before the maior and his bretheren, and thaforesaid James and Thomas bin in debt to the towne iis. viii*d*. vacatur.

William Jonson and John Rane receyvers have accompted before the maior John Leighe and his bretheren, and the aforesaid William and John bin indepted to the towne iiii*s*., as for William Jonson haeth paid his parte iis. vacatur.

Willelmus Harreson electus est ad libertatem suam ville Novicastro subtus Lymam vbicumque dictus Willelmus maneat tam infra libertatem quam extra sub ista condicione quod dabit et reddet cum predicta villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam; et propter hanc libertatem solvet receptoribus ville predictæ xs., viz. vs. pre manibus et alteros vs. infra annum, sin autem amittet libertatem suam.

Ricardus Peake electus est ad libertatem suam ville predictæ vbicumque dictus Ricardus, etc. [as Harreson].

James Madelev and William Coldall receyvors haue accompted before the maior and his bretheren and the[y] ow vs. ix*d*. James and William shall pay of itt iiii*s*.

Richard Patson and Thomas Cleyton church reves haue accompted before the maior and his bretheren and they be meete.

1494 [1494-95].

**Fol. 38  
verso.**

Johannes Legh electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "decimo"].

Jacobus Madelev electus est ballivus pro xxiiiior, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Vernon et Thomas Birks ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Johannes Rane electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Rogerus Bagnalt et Thomas Crockytt ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Radulphus Rowlegh electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Cleyton et Radulphus Bagnall.

Willelmus Beswicke electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Johannes Leighton et Ricardus Thropp electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Eduardus Ryley et Thomas Beech electi sunt receptores ville predictæ ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 178].

Thomas Byrks et Edmundus Mathew electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ville predictæ et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Johannes Hall et Willelmus Harreson electi sunt attestatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Edwarde Royley and Thomas Beech receyuers have accompted before the maior John Leighe and his bretheren and they are indepted to the towne iis. iiii*d*. vacatur.

1495 [1495-96].

**Fol. 39.**

Ronulfus Egerton electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 180 except that the regnal year is "vndecimo"].

Thomas Byrks electus est ballivus pro xxiiiior, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Vernon et Jacobus Madelev ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Rogerus Bagnald electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Lander et Radulphus Schorte ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Cleyton electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Beeche et Ricardus Peyke ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Ricardus Stirrop electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Eduardus Royley et Edmundus Mathew electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Johannes Rane et Thomas Lander electi sunt receptores ville predictae ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 178].

Jacobus Hyndley et Willelmus Coldalle electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ville predictae et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum, etc.

Robertus Aneon et Robertus Jonson electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Fol. 39  
verso.

Whereas their haeth bin great truble and variannce in our election and chosse of our maior and all other officers by the demeyninge of the election of the comonaltie, the which we suppose haeth bin by a wronge demeyninge of them; Theirfore we woulde haue an ordinannc made that their shoulde be taken by the maior and ii of his bretheren of the best of lands and goods and good demeyninge to take unto them iii of the best of the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup> within the towne dwellinge, and to chose an election of the best of the comonaltie to take them a mayer of the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup> within the towne dwellinge and all other officers belonginge thei<sup>r</sup>to, and to chose them new officers from yere to yere. And yf ytt happen that their be any variance amonge the election in chosinge of their officers, whosoeuer of the said election findes them greued, come to the vi of the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup> aforementioned and complayne them, And they shalbe ordered by them and such of the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup> as they will take to them, that shalbe prosperitie and welfare to the towne with the grace of Jesus.

Johannes Matteson, Robertus Matteson filius eius et Radulphus filius eius electi sunt ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erunt resedens [*sic*] in eadem ville [*sic*] dans et consedens et reddens cum predicta villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam quousque in predictam villam reueniet; <sup>1</sup> et propter hanc libertatem predictus Johannes solvet xiiis. iiiid., videlicet vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. pre manibus et alteros vis. vii<sup>id</sup>. infra annum, sin autem amittet libertatem.

Johannes Dome et Eduardus filius eius electi sunt ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione etc. vt supra et propter hanc libertatem predictus Johannes solvet xis. videlicet vis. pre manibus et alteros vis. infra annum sin autem amittet libertatem.

Johannes Robyns electus est ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erit residens in eadem villa, dans et concedens et reddens cum predicta villa sin autem amittet libertatem.

Fol. 40.

1496 [1496-97].

Ricardus Smyth electus est maior ville Novicastro subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "duodecimo"].

Johannes Rane electus est ballivus pro xxiii<sup>or</sup>, plegii et securitates pro eo Willelmus Norres et Johannes Leighton ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Willelmus Coldall electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Crockitt et Willelmus Wodde ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Jonson electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securi-

<sup>1</sup> The clerk's singulars after "erunt" seem to leave it doubtful whether the sons were bound in the same way as their father who paid the entrance money. But cf. p. 186.

tates pro eo Thomas Beech et Ricardus Sturrop ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Robertus Smythe electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Jacobus Madeley et Thomas Cleyton electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Thomas Birks et Edmundus Mathew electi sunt receptores ville predictae ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179]. vacatur.

Rogerus Bagnold et Willelmus Wodde electi sunt prepositi ecclesie ville predictae et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Johannes Hall et Willelmus Wright electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

1496 [1496-97]—[Contd.].

Fol. 40

Memorandum that at the great courte houlden next afore the feast of St. Michael the yeare and raigne aforesaid their was a constitution made by the maior and his bretheren with a whole assent and consent of the cominaltie that Sr Hughe Smyth shall [have] the nar [near] Andrewes hay inclosed at tyme of the yeare paing theirfore to the maior and his successors iiis. yerelie.

*Pro communitate.*

Radulphus Rowley.  
Ricardus Thropp.  
Thomas Clayton.  
Thomas Crockett.

Jacobus Smyth.  
Willelmus Wodde.  
Thomas Beeche.  
Johannes Cowper.

Ricardus Sturropp.  
Edmundus Mathowe.  
Johannes Matteson.  
Richardus Hall.

Also we the great inquest and the smalle with the maior and his bretheren present and say with a whole assent and consent on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Michael anno regni regis Henrici septimi xiiimo that no man shalbe delyuered out of warde and he be arest for the peace vntill he haue sealed and delyuered his bonde.

Henricus Weynewright et Johannes filius eius electi sunt ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali [as on p. 182, except the amount is "xs." to be paid in two instalments].

Rogerus Lovesay electus est ad libertatem, etc. [as Weynewright].

Johannes Roker electus est ad libertatem, etc. [as Weynewright].

1497 [1497-98].

Fol. 41.

Ronulfus Egerton electus est maior ville predictae die Martis, etc. [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "xiiiimo"].

Rogerus Bagnold electus est ballivus pro xxiiiior, plegii et securitates pro eo Johannes Leighton et Jacobus Hyndley ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Ricardus Meyre electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Radulphus Rowley et Jacobus Smyth ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Henricus Waynewright electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Crockett et Edmundus Mathowe ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Ricardus Sturrop electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Thomas Leighe.  
Ricardus Patson.  
Johannes Leighton.  
Willelmus Jonson.

Jacobus Madeley.  
Eduardus Royley.  
Radulphus Rowley.  
Thomas Clayton.

Ricardus Thropp.  
Jacobus Smyth.  
Edmundus Mathew.  
Johannes Cowper.

Theis xii have borowed of the common box of the church goods vii nobles vntill such tyme as the maior and his bretheren call for ytt.

Thomas Byrche et Thomas Beech electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Fol. 41  
verso.

1497 [1497-98]—[Contd.].

Willelmus Coldall et Jacobus Smyth electi sunt receptores ville predictæ ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 178].

Johannes Rane et Johannes Simson electi sunt gardiani ecclesie ville predictæ et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Robertus Jonson et Robertus Aneon' electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

The maior and his bretheren with the greate inquest and the smale present and saye that the sergiant shall serve all manner of stretts [estreats]; after that the maior haeth delyuered him the strett, he shall serve itt before the next courte after, And yf it be so that the sergiant cannott come to goods or that they be withdrawne or putt awaye, that then the sergiant shall take his bodye and put him in warde, vntill such tyme as he delyuer his goods to serve the stret vpon. Also we desire the sergiant so to do vppon payne of xld. to the bailiffe or ellse to answere the debte.

*Hi sunt pro xxiiii<sup>or</sup>.*

Willelmus Norres.  
Thomas Leighe.  
Ricardus Patson.  
Willelmus Jonson.

Johannes Leighton.  
Jacobus Hondley.  
Jacobus Madeley.  
Edwardus Royley.

Thomas Byrks.  
Johannes Rane.  
Rogerus Bagnold.  
Willelmus Coldall.

*Hec [sic] sunt pro communitate.*

Ricardus Thropp.  
Thomas Cleyton.  
Thomas Crockett.  
Jacobus Smyth.

Willelmus Wodde.  
Thomas Beech.  
Johannes Cowper.  
Johannes Matteson.

Ricardus Sturrop.  
Edmundus Mathew.  
Ricardus Hall.  
Ricardus Peake.

Fol. 42.

1498 [1498-99].

Thomas Vernon electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Martis [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "decimo quarto"].

Willelmus Coldall electus est ballivus pro xxiiii<sup>or</sup>, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Leighe et Ricardus Patson ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Radulphus Rowley electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Cleyton et Willelmus Harreson ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Willelmus Beswicke electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Thomas Beech et Johannes Sympson ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Henricus Waynewright electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Johannes Rane et Jacobus Smythe electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Rogerus Bagnolde et Johannes Cowper electi sunt receptores ville predictæ ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Ricardus Peake et Ricardus Meyre electi sunt gardiani ecclesie ville predictæ et super hoc fecerunt sacramentum eorum corporale.

Johannes Hall et Johannes Roker electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Willelmus Moberley electus est ad libertatem ville predictæ sub eadem condicione prescripta et propter hanc libertatem solvet xis. videlicet vs. vid. pre manibus et alteros vs. vid. infra annum, sin autem amittet libertatem suam.

1498 [1498-99]—[Contd.].

Ricardus Waddington electus est ad libertatem, etc. [as Moberley, except that the amount is xs. to be paid in two instalments].

Fol. 42  
verso.

Alicia Graye electa est ad libertatem, etc. [as Moberley, except that the amount is vs. to be paid in two instalments]. Si eadem Alicia fuerit conjugalis ipse solvet vs. similimodo.

Memorandum that Randull Norres haeth taken of Mr. Maior and his bretheren one shop of the towne grounde the end and terme of xii yeares payinge theifore yerelie iis. and the said Randull shall keepe one locke vpon the hall dore.

Thomas Leighe.  
Willelmus Jonson.  
Jacobus Madeley.  
Johannes Leighton.

Thomas Birche.  
Johannes Rane.  
Radulphus Rowley.  
Johannes Matteson.

Thomas Cleyton.  
Jacobus Smyth.  
Thomas Beeche.  
Ricardus Peake.

Memorandum that theis persons are agreed with the consent of the maior and his bretheren and the counsell of the towne that the[y] shall yerelie pay rent to the common box for such grounds as shall be taken in from the common as thei shalbe hereafter assessed.

*Towne Lande.*

Item Sr Hughe Smyth for three crofts in the holdinge of the said Sr Hughe vis. viii*d*.

Item Randull Eggerton, Thomas Leighe and Ricardus Barton for land in St. Mary hyron yerelie xvii*d*.

Item Ricardus Smyth for one flatt of land lying next St. Hellens Wall payinge yerelie iiis.

Item Willelmus Coldall for one parcell of ground at Gallowtreehill yerelie xx*d*.

Item Thomas Leighe for one parcell of ground next Priestwall hill xvi*d*.

Thomas Brett for land in the Hemstalls vis. and the said Thomas shall receive of John Colcloughe vi*d*. towards ytt.

Item Mr. Maior then beinge Thomas Vernon for the King's feilde iis.

Item Thomas Brett for the other Kinges feild iis.

Item Roger Bagnald for litle Stannefeild ii*d*.

Item Raffe Brett for the spitle grounde and the lane iis. vi*d*.

Item Warseles croft in the holding of Randolph Eggerton and John Rane xii*d*.

Item one litle meadow at Poole head in the holding of James Madely ii*i*i*d*.

Item James Madeley for the lane at Frere wood head ii*i*i*d*.

James Smyth for the Butt lane xvi*d*.

1499 [1499-1500].

Fol. 43.

Thomas Vernon electus est maior ville Novicatri subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "quinto decimo"].

Ricardus Cooke electus est ballivus pro xxiiior, plegii et securitates pro eo Johannes Leighe et Ricardus Smyth ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Johannes Matteson electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Ricardus Stirrop et Edmundus Matho[we] ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Henricus Weynewright electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Robertus Smyth et Johannes Roker ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Willelmus Beswicke electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Rogerus Bagnold et Johannes Cowper electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Ronulfus Rowley et Ricardus Hall electi sunt receptores ville predictae ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 179].

Willelmus Coldall et Jacobus Smyth electi sunt gardiani ecclesie ville predictae ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad, etc.

Robertus Jonson et Johannes Hall electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad officium suorum, etc.

Memorandum quod die Lune proximo post festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno supradicto whearas Richard Meare dissobeid Thomas Vernon maior and for that offence was disfranchised by the said maior and his counsell, now the maior and xxiii<sup>or</sup> are agreed that the said Richard shalbe restored agayne by the desire of the said Richard payinge theirfore xxs., whei<sup>or</sup> vis. viii<sup>d</sup>. to be paid at Whitsontyde next and the rest when it is called for.

Johannes Robyns et Ricardus Colcloughe electi sunt ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erunt resedens [*sic*] in villa predicta dans et consedens et reddens cum predicta villa, sin autem amittet libertatem suam et propter hanc libertatem solvent xxvjs. viij<sup>d</sup>. receptoribus ville predictae, videlicet xij<sup>s</sup>. iiiij<sup>d</sup>. pre manibus et alteros xiiis. iiiij<sup>d</sup>. infra annum, sin autem amittent,<sup>1</sup> etc.

Fol. 43  
verso.

1500 [1500-01].

Rondull Eggerton electus est maior ville Novicacstri subtus Lymam die Martis, etc. [as p. 180, except that the regnal year is "sexto decimo"].

Radulphus Rowleygh electus est ballivus pro xxiii<sup>or</sup>, plegii et securitates pro eo Rogerus Bagnold et Willelmus Coldall ad salvandum, etc. [as p. 176].

Ricardus Thropp electus est ballivus pro communitate, plegii et securitates pro eo Edmundus Matho et Henricus Weynewright ad salvandum maiorem et communitatem, etc.

Ricardus Stirrop electus est serviens pro communitate, plegii et securitates, etc. [no names].

Ricardus Peike electus est serviens pro maiore ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 176].

Willelmus Coldall et Henricus Weynewright electi sunt constabularii ad faciendum omnia que de iure ad officium eorum pertinent, etc.

Ricardus Cooke et Thomas Crosse electi sunt receptores ville predictae ad faciendum, etc. [as p. 178].

Johannes Matteson et Johannes Cowper electi sunt gardiani ecclesie ville predictae ad faciendum omnia que de, etc.

Robertus Aneon<sup>1</sup> et Ricardus Waddenton electi sunt attastatores panis et ceruisie ad faciendum omnia que de iure, etc.

La[w]rance Bere, Robert Weynewright, Thomas Blackewoode et [?] goldesmyth come into their liberties the yeare above written payinge theirfore xs. apeece.

John Matteson and John Cowper church reves have accompted before Mr. Maior on Friday next after the feast of St. Michael and owe the towne vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

Richard Cooke and Thomas Crosse receyuers have accompted and are indepted iiis.

Thomas Archdalle and Thomas his sonne are receyued into their liberties on Friday next after the feast of St. Michael paving therfore in hand v nobulls. Also the maior, ballives, aldermen, xxiii<sup>or</sup> and comonaltie have graunted the said Thomas the office of bellmanship duringe his life doinge his duetie, etc.

Memorandum that Thomas Archdalle haeth comen before the maior and his bretheren and delyuered vp his office of belmanship for euermore, savinge vnto him and his sonne their franchises.

<sup>1</sup> In this entry singulars and plurals are mingled even more than on p. 182, but it is clear that both pay.

1501 [1501-02].

Mayor : Hugo Eggerton, armiger.  
 Deputy Mayor : Rondulphus Eggerton.  
 Bailiffs : Ricardus Colcloughe, Johannes Robyns.  
 Sergiants : Hughe Bagnald, Henrie Waynewright.  
 Constables : Richarde Cooke, Richard Stirrop.  
 Churche Reves : Raffe Rowleigh, Thomas Beeche.  
 Receyuers : Richarde Throp, Richarde Peake.  
 Syse Lookers : John Hall, Thomas Blackwodde.

Memorandum that the maior, bretheren, xxiii<sup>th</sup> and Comonaltie saye that Richard Thropp shall neuer come to his libertie, nor no other man that refused the office of the bailiship, when he is elected by the whole election of the xxiii<sup>th</sup> and of the Cominaltie or any other that is putt to the office or any other offyce.

The whole election be agreed wheiras John Hunt was chosen bailie, and would not serve itt, we theirfore discharge him of his libertie for euermore, even as Richard Throp was before him.

1502 [1502-03].

Mayor : Thomas Byrche.  
 Bailiffs : Johannes Matteson, Jacobus Smyth.  
 Serjeants : Henricus Wenwright, Hugo Bagnald.  
 Constables : Ricardus Colcloughe, Robertus Sabege.  
 Receivers : Johannes Robyns, Johannes Hunt.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Ricardus Throp, Ricardus Hall.  
 Attastatores panis : Johannes Rowker, Johannes Hall.

Fol. 45.

Wher James Smyth, baylife, Richard Cooke and William Harreson dissobeyed against the yeld roole and theirfore weare disfranchised, now we receyue them agayne the said James payinge *ii li.* of wax to the maior his hand on Christmas day morninge, Richard Cooke *ii lbs.* and William Harreson other *ii li.* to the maior his hand the same daye.

And Richard Hyndley for the same was putt out and cometh in payinge *i li.* of wax and yf the [they] mysse, then thei stand as before.

John Hyndley was disfranchised for not cominge at the maior's callinge and is restored agayne so as he pay on Corpus Christi day a *li.* of wax in a surge made.

Mr. Maior and his bretheren with the great inquest and smalle say that Uttoxeter men shall not be free to buy nor sell, but our bailifes shall take toole of them, and we will fortefie them so to do to our power.

1503 [1503-04].

Fol. 45  
verso.

Mayor : Thomas Vernon.  
 Bailiffs : Johannes Robyns, Thomas Cleyton.  
 Sergeants : Ricardus Robinson, Willelmus Harreson.  
 Constables : Radulphus Rowley, Robertus Smyth.  
 Receivers : Johannes Matteson, Johannes Patson.  
 Custodes panis : Robertus Anneon, Johannes Blore.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Jacobus Smyth, Johannes Hunt.

The maior and his bretheren be agreed that theis persons shall content the money to ring the hallowing of the church : item, Thomas Byrks vis. viii<sup>d</sup>., Richard Smyth xv<sup>s</sup>., of the rent of [h]is haye, William Coldall and Ellen Madeley iiis., John Coper and John Matteson vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.

1504 [1504-05].

Fol. 46.

Mayor : Radulphus Delves, armiger.  
 Deputy Mayor : Ronulphus Eggerton.

Bailiffs : Jacobus Smyth, Johannes Cowper.  
 Constables : Johannes Matteson, Ricardus Robinson.  
 Receptores denariorum : Thomas Cleyton, Johannes Richardson.  
 Sergeants : Radulphus Bagnold, Ricardus Peike.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Johannes Robyns, Ricardus Hall.  
 Custodes panis : Willelmus Sylvester, Johannes Roker.

Fol. 46  
verso.

1505 [1505-06].

Mayor : Ricardus Smyth.  
 Bailiffs : Thomas Cleyton, Johannes Richardson.  
 Sergeants : Johannes Ryggs, Johannes Joneson.  
 Constables : Johannes Robyns, Radulphus Bagnald.  
 Receptores denariorum : Jacobus Smyth, Ronulphus Beeche.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Johannes Cowper, Ricardus Hall.  
 Custodes panis : Ricardus Mathowe, Robertus Anneon.

Fol. 47.

1506 [1506-07].

Mayor : Johannes Leighton.  
 Bailiffs : Johannes Cowper, Ricardus Peike.  
 Constables : Johannes Rowker, Johannes Jonson.  
 Receptores denariorum : Johannes Richardson, Ricardus Robinson.  
 Sergeants : Ricardus Hall, Johannes Ryggs.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Thomas Cleyton, Johannes Proctor.

Fol. 47  
verso.

1507 [1507-08].

Mayor : Robertus Wodde, generosus.  
 Bailiffs : Johannes Richardson, Radulphus Bagnald.  
 Sergeants : Johannes Hyndley, Ricardus Danall.  
 Receptores denariorum : Johannes Cowper, Willelmus Vernon.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Johannes Matteson, Willelmus Shorte.

Fol. 48.

Item boeth the great inquest and the smalle haue ordered that from the feast of the Nativite of our Lorde Christ, the yeare afore written, that their shall neuer be quest of pley marchand occupied within this borowe. The maior, his bretheren, the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup> and comonaltie are agreed that the towne sergiant shal yeare [*sic*] pay viii<sup>d</sup>. and the maior his sergiant vid. towards the reparacions of the mases.

Fol. 48  
verso.

1508 [1508-09].

Mayor : Thomas Byrche.  
 Bailiffs : Willelmus Vernon, Ricardus Hall.  
 Constables : Johannes Cowper, Johannes Hyndeley.  
 Sergeants : Johannes Proctor, Ricardus Danall.  
 Receptores : Radulphus Bagnald, Willelmus Throp.  
 Gardiani ecclesie : Johannes Richardson, Willelmus Harreson.  
 Custodes panis : Johannes Brucke, Ronulphus Telrick.

Fol. 49.

Randull Eggerton.	Richard Patson.	John Matson.
John Leighe.	John Rane, senior.	John Robyns.
Richarde Smythe.	Roger Bagnald.	James Smyth.
Thomas Vernon.	William Coldall.	Thomas Cleyton.
John Leighton.	Richard Meare.	John Cowper.
		John Richardson.
		Radulphus Bagnald.

Memorandum that all theis persons aboue named are agreed and have brought in to the maior, that William Vernon shall serve to be bailife for the xxiiii<sup>ti</sup>, And thaforesaid William Vernon shall pay to the maior theirfore xxs. and neuer to serve for the comonaltie.

*Pro xxxiii<sup>or</sup>.*

Ricardus Patson.  
Johannes Rane.  
Rogerus Bagnald.  
Willelmus Coldall.

Ricardus Meare.  
Johannes Matson.  
Johannes Robyns.  
Jacobus Smyth.

Thomas Cleyton.  
Johannes Cowper.  
Johannes Richardson.  
Radulphus Bagnald.  
Willelmus Vernon.  
Ricardus Hall.

*Pro communitate.*

Robertus Smythe.  
Johannes Jonson.  
Michael Worsseley.  
Johannes Rane.

Ricardus Robinson.  
Willelmus Harreson.  
Willelmus Thropp.  
Johannes Hyndley.

Johannes Proctor.  
Edmundus Mathowe.  
Ricardus Danall.  
Jacobus Smyth, draper.  
Thomas Badelye.  
Johannes Blore.

Memorandum that Rauffe Bagnold and William Thropp receyuers of the towne of Newcastle for the xxiii<sup>th</sup> yeare of Kinge Henerie the VII<sup>th</sup>, and the same receyuers be alowed for diuerse payments and decayes of shoppes xvs. viii<sup>d</sup>. and that notwithstandinge the [they] remayne in debte to the same towne iiiii<sup>s</sup>. vacatur.

Willelmus Gryffith et Agnes Beyve electi sunt ad libertatem ville predictae sub tali condicione quod erunt, etc., et solvent receptoribus ville xxs., etc.

## 1509 [1509-10].

Fol. 49  
verso.

Mayor : Radulphus Delves, armiger.  
Bailiffs : Radulphus Bagnald, Robertus Smyth.  
Sergeants : Willelmus Harreson, Ricardus Boghey.  
Constables : Johannes Richardson, Johannes Proctor.  
Gardiani ecclesie : Willelmus Vernon, Johannes Baven.  
Receptores denariorum : Ricardus Hall, Thomas Badelye.  
Supervisores marcatorum et } Robertus Anneon.  
assisarum sub maiore } Johannes Lymford.

## 1510 [1510-11].

Fol. 50

Mayor : Thomas Vernon.  
Bailiffs : Ricardus Hall, Johannes Johnson.  
Sergeants : Ricardus Borthey, Ricardus Ryggs.  
Constables : Willelmus Vernon, Willelmus Harryson.  
Gardiani ecclesie : Radulphus Bagnald, Johannes Smyth, draper.  
Receptores denariorum : Robertus Smyth, Johannes Proctor.  
Supervisores marcatorum et } Willelmus Johnson.  
assisarum sub maiore } Willelmus Anneon.

The maior and his bretheren with assent and consent of the great inquest and the smalle are agreed that the butchers shall make a banner and keepe a light before our Lady and we have granted that no butcher shall sett vp his trade except he agre with the craft, that is to say, he that is apprentice shall pay iis. and any other iiis. iiiii<sup>d</sup>.

Item that no man shall use any shop but of the towne lande vntill all be lett, etc.

Item the same butchers shall kepe a lawfull light to the value of xli. of waxe with the banner by the feast of Corpus Christi day next and that no man shall sell any fleshe but his owne, in deceyving of the said craft, in payne of vis. viii<sup>d</sup>., and that no person dwelling in this towne shall kill any flesh but of his owne rearinge and shall sell no parte of the same, but

to the vse of his owne house shall vse yt, and to sett open no wyndowes at service tyme, and to change the wardens of the craft yerelie.

Raufe Bagnold, Richard Borthey wardens this yeare.

Theis are the bretheren of the craft, Raufe Bagnold, Richard Borthey, Raffe Castnell, Robert Smyth, La[w]rence Berdsley, Richard Bagnold and John Bagnold.

Fol. 50  
verso.

*Towne Rents :*

John Richardson for one tenement in the butchery vs.

Raufe Bagnald a shopp iiis.

John Johnson for one drayt. [*sic*] iiid.

John Bagnald, senior, marcer, xiid.

John Bagnald, junior, carnifex, for a shopp, iiis.

John Leighton, xvid.

James Smyth for Butlone, xvid.

Thomas Vernon iiid.

William Harrison for a shopp vnder the hall iis.

John Worseley for one shopp iis.

William Vernon for one tenement to the balife of the fraunches vis. viiid.

Richard Smyth for ii tenements in the yre[n]market vis. to be paid to the sergiant.

Ranulphus Castnell for one shop, to the clerke, iiis. iiid.

John Johnson for one shopp to the clerke iis.

Richarde Borthey for certen grounde lyinge in the butcherie in breadth xii foote and in lengthe from the King's hye way to the ground of John Colclough xvid.

Lawrence Bersedely for one shop in the butchery iiis.

John Patson for a parcell of grounde, iiid.

The Prior of Trentham for a chymney iiid.

Eduardus Storrop electus est clericus pro ecclesie [*sic*], Thomas Cleyton, Johannes Bagnald, Ricardus Boughey et Johannes Rokeir plegii pro eo, videlicet, that the said Edwarde shall be diligent in his office, etc.

APPENDIX H.

*Duchy of Lancaster : Ministers' Accounts, No. 2907, Bundle 183 :*

6-7 Henry VI.<sup>1</sup>

*Nouum Castrum.*—Compotus Stephani Hill prepositi ibidem a festo sancti Michaelis anno regis Henrici sexti sexto vsque idem festum extunc proxime sequens anno eiusdem regis septimo [1428-29] per unum annum integrum redditus coram Willelmo Malberthorp clerico [auditore] dominorum feoffatorum ibidem.

*Arreragia.*—Idem respondet de iiij<sup>xx</sup> xix*li*. viiis. id. obolo de arreragiis vltimi compoti anni proxime precedentis, prout patet in pede ibidem.

Summa iiij<sup>xx</sup> xix*li*. viiis. id. obolus.

*Redditus.*—Et de xv*li*. xviiis. vd. quadrante dimidia quarta parte quadrantis de redditu in Penkhull terminis Andree apostoli, Anunciationis Beate Marie, Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et sancti Michaelis equaliter vt patet per quoddam nouum rentale ibidem factum et renouatum in anno iii<sup>o</sup> regis Henrici quinti [1415-16]. Et de xiii*li*. xviiis. viid quadrante, quarta parte quadrantis de redditu in Claiton et Sheperuge per dictum rentale, etc. Et de vj*li*. xvs. xd. quadrante de redditu in Shulton et Hanley

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIV. above.

per idem rentale, etc. Et de *ixli. xviii. xid.* obolo dimidio quadrante de redditu in Wolstanton, etc., per predictum rentale, Et de *xxvs. vid.* obolo de certis ii visibus ibidem per annum per dictum rentale termino principis quadragesime. Et de *xls.* de redditu certarum terrarum et tenementorum in Lyne [*? Lyme*] de veteribus decasibus nuper in tenura Thome Bentley pro *xxxviii.* et postea in tenura Willelmi Dome pro *xxxviii.* et deinde dimissis dicto Willelmo et heredibus suis tenendis secundum consuetudinem manerii reddendo inde per annum *xls.* prout patet per dictum nouum rentale et per rotulos curie anni tertii regis Henrici quinti et sic de incremento per annum *iiiiis.* terminis usualibus.

*Summa xlixli. xvs. vid.*

*Firme.*—Et de *xlii.* de firma burgensium cum tolneto mercati et nundinarum et aliis commoditatibus de eisdem terminis Anunciacionis Beate Marie et sancti Michaelis per dictum rentale et compota precedencia. Et de *xlii.* de feodi firma molendinorum ibidem eisdem terminis sic dimissorum eisdem burgensibus vt in compoto precedente. Et de *xviii.* de firma herbagii de Poleshede apud Shepruge et aliis terris in decasu cum i placea pasture vocata Hitchcockfeld et alia pastura vocata Thomasfeld sic dimissis Henrico Tupp' hoc anno. Et de *vs.* de firma prati de Poleshede apud Nouum Castrum sic dimissi hoc anno tamen reddere solet *viis.* De firma prati de Poleshede nuper in tenura Henrici Stanlowe nichil hoc anno eo quod deuastatur per exaltacionem capitis stagni molendini. Et de *xxiiis.* de firma prati vocati Kyngesmedowe sic dimissi villate de Wolstanton. Et de *xxs.* de firma prati vocati Kyngesmedowe in Nouo Castro sic dimissi burgensibus ville ibidem per annum. Et de *xvs.* de firma miner[arum]<sup>1</sup> lapidis ferrei ibidem sic dimiss[arum] Thome Amys ad terminum x annorum hoc anno primo per rotulos curiae. Et de *vid.* de firma i curtilagii apud Poleshede nuper Johannis Kene sic dimissi per annum. Et de *xiiid.* de passagio de Mere hoc anno. Et de *xvis.* de herbagio de Castell-cliff sic dimisso hoc anno villate de Penkhull tamen reddere solet *xxxiiis.* *iiiiid.* Et de *viis.* de firma herbage [sic] *xiiii* acrarum terre in Duchileyheth sic dimissi burgensibus ville Noui Castri ad terminum [ ]<sup>2</sup> annorum per rotulos curiae de anno *ii<sup>do</sup>* regis Henrici viti [1423-24]. Et de *xxxvs. iiiid.* de firma herbagii de Kyngesfeld in Penkhull cum prato in Weldfordbrigge sic dimissi Johanni Colclogh et Willelmo del Chambre per annum. Et de *xvis.* de firma piscarie stagni circa castrum sic dimisse Johanni Kyngeley constabulario castri tamen reddere solet *xxvis. viiid.* Et de *xs.* receptis de firma minere carbonum maritimorum ibidem sic dimisse Henrico Machen ad terminum x annorum per rotulos curie hoc anno primo. Et de nichil de pannagio porcorum ibidem hoc anno. Et de nichil de croppis et arboribus vento prostratis ibidem hoc anno.

*Summa iiiix<sup>xx</sup> viiili. viiis. xd.*

*Perquisita Curie.*—Et de *vili. ixs. iiiid.* de perquisitis curiarum tentarum ibidem hoc anno vt patet in rotulis earundem, tamen in anno precedente *viiili. xliis. xd.* Et de *viis.* receptis de finibus diuersis pro secta curie relaxanda hoc anno tamen in anno precedente ad *xliis. ixd.* Et de *iiis. iiiid.* de perquisitis ii visuum in Bradnopp hoc anno vt patet per rotulos eorundem. Et de nichil de vagis et extrahuris<sup>3</sup> ibidem hoc anno.

*Summa vili. xixs. viiid.*

*Forinacea recepta.*—Et de *xxxis. iiiid.* dimidia quadrante de exitibus terre Henrici Swerkesson' seisite et existentis in manibus dominorum, certis de causis sic approuat[is] vltra *xxs. viiid.* obolum, quadrantem dimidium

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly minere (sing.).

<sup>2</sup> Number omitted.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. waifs and strays.

de redditu inde regi debito per annum superius onerato per parcelas super hunc compotum exonerat[as] et non plus quia iiii haiae pasture que dimitti solebant pro xxvis. viiid. hoc anno dimittuntur nisi pro xvs. prout asserit super sacramentum.

*Summa xxxis. iiiiid. dimidio quadrante.*

*Forinceca recepta.*—Et oneratur de xxixs. xd. obolo quadrante receptis de Willelmo de Tetonsore preposito ibidem anno precedente per manus Ricardi Snede denariorum recipientis super operibus castri vt patet in compoto anni precedentis. Et de xxviii*li.* xviii. viiid. obolo, quadrante, dimidio receptis per dictum Ricardum Snede super dictis operibus hoc anno per manus diuersorum ministrorum vt inferius, videlicet per manus Johannis Braymar' prepositi ibidem anno vto iiii*li.*; Henrici del Mere prepositi ibidem anno iiii*to* xxvis. iiiiid. dimidio quadrante; Willelmi Tetonsore prepositi ibidem anno vto lxiiiis. xid.; Ricardi Penkill et Johannis Sadeler' ballivorum ville anno vto xlis. vd. obolo quadrante; Johannis Pollard maioris ville ibidem de firma molendinorum anni viti cvs.; Henrici Brerelirst et Thome Saunfayle balliuorum ibidem dicti anni viti iiii*li.* xiiis. iiiiid.; Johannis Coke et Willelmi Brereton ballivorum ibidem hoc anno, xxvis. viiid.; et Stephani Hill prepositi ibidem hoc anno viiii.

*Summa xxxli. viis. vid. obolus, dimidium quadrans. Summa totalis recepte cum arrevariis cclxxviii. xs. xid. quadrans.*

*Expensae.*—De quibus computantur in stipendium prepositi per annum xxs. pro redditu et aliis exitibus colligendis prout allocatum est in compoto precedente. Et iis. pro pergamento empto pro rotulis curie et extractis earundem supra scribendis hoc anno. Et vili. soluti abbati et conuentui Cestrie ex antiqua elemosina per annum [terminis] Pasche et Michaelis pro hoc anno et anno precedente per annum lxs. per ii acquitancias prout allocatum est in compoto precedente. Et allocantur eidem pro feno litera et focali expensis pro auditore xxd. et receptore generali iiiiis. et receptore per i diem et ii noctes iiiiis. ix*d.*

*Summa viiii. vis. ix*d.**

Et respectuantur ei xxli. de parte firme molendinorum de xlii. per annum quam summam de xxli. dominus Henricus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et alii domini feoffati domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie quinti respectuari mandarunt quousque aliud ab eis inde specialiter habeatur in mandatis per litteram suam de warranto dato apud Leycestre xvi die Maii anno regis nunc iiii*to* [1426] remanentem inter warranta huius compoti. Et eidem xxli. respectuantur burgensibus ville Noui Castri de firma eiusdem burgi de hoc anno et anno precedente, per annum xli., quousque aliud ab eis inde specialiter habeatur, per dictam litteram de warranto.

*Summa xlii.*

*Reparacio Castri.*—Et in diuersis custumis, misis et expensis hoc anno factis et apposisis super reparacione castri ibidem viiii*li.* xis. iiiiid.<sup>1</sup> videlicet coopertura plumbea turris iuxta portas cum plumbo empto pro eadem, factura unius tresnaunze ex parte boriali aule, unius alure ducentis de aula vsque coquinam; unius noui camini in bassa camera subtus cameram principalem ac reficient[e] [sic] diuersas domos infra castrum, prout patet per parcelas Ricardi Snede ad hoc deputati super compotum examinatum, remanentem vt supra viiii*li.* xis. iiiiid.

*Summa viiii*li.* xis. iiiiid.*

<sup>1</sup> Interlined in MS.

*Liberacio denariorum. Raginaldus Lathbury.*—Et liberauit Reginaldo Lathbury nuper receptori ibidem per manus Johannis Sadeler et socii sui nuper ballivorum in precio unius celle ab ipso Johanne empte iiii. iiid. Et liberauit Thome Makworth receptori denariorum ibidem per manus Johannis Braymare prepositi ibidem anno vto cum x marcas per manus Johannis Kyngeley senescalli et constabularii denarios recipientis pro feodo suo et iiiili. per manus Ricardi Snede denarios recipientis super operibus castri—xxiii. iis. viiid. dimidio quadrante.<sup>1</sup> Et eidem receptori per manus Henrici del Mere prepositi ibidem anno iiiito de arreragiis suis per manus dicti Ricardi super dictis operibus castri xxvis. iiid. dimidio quadrante. Et eidem per manus Willelmi Tetonsore prepositi ibidem anno precedente de arreragiis suis cum lxiii. xid. per manus dicti Ricardi Snede super dictis operibus—xxxvii. id. Et eidem per manus Ricardi Penkill et Johannis Sadeler balliuorum ville ibidem anno vto de arreragiis suis ad manus dicti Ricardi Snede super operibus predictis—xlis. vd. obolus, quadrantem.

[*Verso.*] Et eidem receptori per manus Johannis Pollard maioris ville ibidem de arreragiis firme molendinorum anni precedentis cum cvs. ad manus dicti Ricardi Snede super operibus castri—viii. Et eidem receptori per manus Henrici Brerehurst et Thome Saunfayle balliuorum ville anni precedentis cum iiiili. xiiis. iiid. ad manus eiusdem Ricardi Snede super dictis operibus—xviii. vis. viiid. Et eidem per manus Johannis Coke et Willelmi Breton balliuorum ville ibidem de exitibus officii sui huius anni cum xxvis. viiid. ad manus dicti Ricardi Snede super operibus predictis—xxxli. Et eidem per manus Stephani Hale et Johannis Coke firmariorum molendinorum de firma sua huius anni—xxli. Et eidem per manus Stephani Hill prepositi ibidem de exitibus officii sui huius anni cum viii. ad manus dicti Ricardi Snede super dictis operibus—xxxiii.

*Summa clxxii. xviii.*

Summa allocationum et liberationum ccxxviii. xixs. viid. Et debet xlviii. xis. iiid., quadrantem, Qui onerantur in compoto anni subsequentis in titulo arreragiorum.<sup>2</sup> Henricus del Rugge nuper prepositus ibidem de arreragiis suis xxvis. viid. obolo, dimidio quadrante. Qui quidem Henricus asserit se soluisse pro feodo constabularii x marcas que sibi non allocantur. Ricardum<sup>3</sup> Snede superuisorem operum castri vt de totis denariis per ipsum hoc anno receptis vltra soluciones, etc. lxviii. vid. dimidio quadrante.

Ipsam computantem de claris arreragiis suis xxvii. viis. vid. Et respectuantur xviii. viis. viid. obolus soluti per Ricardum Snede pro factura diuersarum domorum et aliorum infra castrum hoc anno quousque habeatur inde warrantum.

## APPENDIX J.

### THE MANOR COURT ROLLS OF NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

At the Public Record Office, London, there is a long series of Court Rolls of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. The first roll is of date 1335, the next is 1348, and thereafter the rolls are almost continuous down to modern times—a wonderfully complete series. Many of the earlier rolls which were gradually becoming illegible have been carefully mounted on linen, and are now well preserved. All these rolls are of the manor court instituted by Henry II when he made his tenants in the immediate neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> This sum includes the 10 marks and £4 previously mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin here is "Unde super."

<sup>3</sup> The case must depend on a verb omitted.

of the castle perform military service there. The proceedings entered on the rolls belong to two courts, one of them, the Court Baron or Little Court, being the court which every lord of a manor was entitled to hold. The court met every three weeks, and until the reign of Henry VII the day of meeting was always Saturday. All the tenants of the manor, whether free or villein, were obliged to attend. The business was extremely varied: feudal dues such as reliefs and heriots were paid; impounded waifs and strays were bailed out; actions of debt and trespass up to a limit of forty shillings could be tried; encroachments on the lord's waste were reported; payments for a special number of sworn men to decide the facts of a dispute or to explain the custom of the manor might be made by any individual suitor; but the main function of the court in the fourteenth century consisted in witnessing transfers of copyhold land. The court enabled the lord to compel his tenants to perform their services. Usually the steward of the lord presided at the court, and the decisions in the form of presentments were given by the tenants or by a jury chosen from them, and then they were entered on the rolls. The second court was the Great Court, or the View of Frankpledge, when the court was acting as a court "leet," according to the terminology of later times. This court was not held by every lord of a manor but was either granted specially by the Crown or held by prescription. It met twice a year, at Easter and at Michaelmas, and presentments from the frankpledges of the various townships within the manor were recorded on the rolls. Minor offences were amerced as in a modern police court.

According to the very first roll the suitors came from Hanford, Longton, Hanchurch, Hanley, Shelton, Clayton-Griffith (or Griffin), Whitmore, Penkhull, Wolstanton, Fenton Vivian, Clayton and Seabridge, and Knutton. Later we see that Bootheren was bracketed with Penkhull, Dimsdale with Knutton, and Botteslow with Fenton.

The first entry of all concerns the proceedings of a court of the Manor of Newcastle, held on Saturday in the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (24 June), in the ninth year of Edward III (from 25 January, 1335, to 24 January, 1336). The court is evidently the Court Baron or Little Court, but it is not so stated on the roll, nor is the place of meeting given. John de Kynardsley, recently parson of the Church of Stoke, is mentioned, and John of Stoke, clerk, is complainant against Thomas Shakspeare in a plea of debt. On half the first membrane the proceedings chiefly relate to debts. The next court was held on Saturday next before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin (13 July). Because John, clerk of Stoke, did not prosecute his plea of debt against Thomas Shakspeare he and his pledge were amerced 6d. Out of the twelve much-decayed membranes which comprise the first roll, only one has a list of twelve men constituting a jury. The following list occurs at a court of the manor of Newcastle, held on Saturday next before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (25 April) [1336]:—

*"Nomina Duodene.*

Randle de Bromley. Ralph le Burgylon. Roger de Honford. Simon Griffyn. William son of John de Bromley. Stephen de Bonetable. Roger son of Randle. Nicholas de Bagenale. Ralph de Dymmesdale. —? de Hanley. John Phelipp. Stephen de Dymmesdale."

The second roll consists of six decayed membranes of the twenty-second year of Edward III (25 January, 1348, to 24 January, 1349). When the court meets we are now told that it is held at Newcastle. The business consists for the main part of debts and transfers of lands: there are no lists of twelve sworn men. The first transfer is of an acre of land in Wolstanton surrendered by Thomas son of Geoffrey le Brett, chaplain, to Margaret daughter of Richard son of Robert of Newcastle, for which the "ingressus" or relief was 12*d.* Geoffrey de Edenham, parson of the church of Stoke, occurs in 1348.

At a court held on Saturday next before the feast of All Saints (1 November), in the twenty-fourth year of Edward III (1350), Dominus Nicholas de Colleshull was described as parson of Stoke church, and Richard de Dratton was prior of Trentham. On Saturday, after the feast of the Ascension, in 1350, Dominus John Lycorice surrendered certain lands in Wolstanton to the use of John le Ropere, for which the fine was 18*d*. Again, Dominus John Lycorice demised during his life to John le Ropere lands in Wolstanton, with remainder to John Lycorice's proper heirs, and for this Ropere by agreement was to pay annually to the chaplain of the chantry chapel of St. Katherine in the parish church of Newcastle the profits from the two acres in Wolstanton for repairing the houses of the aforesaid chantry: relief 6*d*. In the same year, 1350, on December 6, Dominus John de Schepbrughe was chaplain of the parish church of Stoke, and Philip de Tame was prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

In 1360 there occurs this list:—

" Magna xii.

Richard de Bromeley.	Stephen de Dymmesdale.
William Jouet.	John Clerk de Whitemor.
Roger de Bromley.	John Amys.
Ank~ten' de Hanley.	John Pollard.
William de Tytnesore.	Richard de Routheslegh
Geoffrey le Strung.	Hugh le [—]ower."

At a Great Court of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, held there on Saturday next after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (29 September), in 42 Edward III (1368), this list occurs:—

" xii.

Roger Burgilon.	Nicholas de Bromley.
Roger de Bromley.	John le Clerk de Wytemor.
William Louet.	William de Bromley.
Nicholas de Dymesdale.	Richard de Routhesley.
Thomas Alcok.	Richard de Madeley.
Richard le Bontable.	John son of Peter."

The frankpledges of Penkhull presented the death of the parson of Stoke, who held of the lord his church, and a heriot of one bull worth 8*s*. was due to the lord. Henry, abbot of Hulton, is mentioned. John Lagowe complained that Roger de Bromley's dogs pursued, bit, and killed one of his cows worth 10*s*. Roger denied the charge. In the next year, 1369, the frankpledges of Wolstanton presented the death of Adam Robyn, chaplain, who held one messuage and certain land in socage, and a heriot of one ox worth 10*s*. was due to the lord.

Of the early rolls, many are almost illegible, through decay and only brief extracts from the legible membranes were transcribed. When we come to the year 1379, the eight membranes of the roll for the years 3 and 4 of Richard II are much better preserved, and one membrane was transcribed in full, and most of the proceedings are recorded later.<sup>1</sup> This membrane is specially interesting, because it makes mention of William Shakespere and John Shakespere.<sup>2</sup> They were on an inquest of twelve who presented the straying of a lamb worth threepence. Later, William Shakespere was one of six on a special inquest paid for by William de Brompton to inquire about the cutting down of a crab-tree at Wolstanton. The six men decided

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* pp. 197-200.

<sup>2</sup> For the importance of these Shakespere names, see *The Field*, April 8 and 15, 1916.

that the tree was growing on land belonging to Agnes de Fulford, and that she cut down the tree lawfully. In the twelfth year of the reign of Henry IV the death of John Shakespere is recorded. For his copyhold land a heriot of one mare with a foal, worth two shillings, is due to the lord.

Before quoting the transcript of the roll of Richard II, a few notes on the fifteenth century rolls will bring out other points of interest. At Easter, 1403, the Great Court or Court Leet is styled the "Visus" (i.e. view of frankpledge) of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. The following were on the Great Inquest :—

Thomas Podmore.	Henry Stanlowe.
William Thikenes.	John Walton.
William Dom.	Richard Lagowe.
Richard Louot, senior.	John Lopore.
Thomas Schelton.	Thomas Boyer.
Henry Swerkeston.	Thomas Bromley.

The township of Wolstanton was amerced 6*d.* for default of one frankpledge.

The frankpledges of Shelton had only one presentment to make, viz. that John Shakespere broke the assise of ale, so he was fined 6*d.* On the same day, immediately after the view of frankpledge, a Little Court was held at which the following formed the Inquest :—

Thomas Balle.	William Hull.
William Bradewalle.	William Mere.
John Cowall.	William Gefson.
William Tytenesor.	Richard Louot, junior.
William Bateson.	John Scheperug,
William Huchin.	Thomas Daweson.

At a Small Court held in the time of Edward IV, John Turnor, the provost, was amerced 6*s.* 8*d.* because he did not come to the court.

In the next year (7 Edward IV), at a Small Court held on the Saturday before Christmas, William Lago, armiger, by his attorneys William Colclough and Thomas Somerford, surrendered into the lord's hands his lands, tenements, rents, and services in the townships of Penkhull, Clayton and Seabridge, Wolstanton, Shelton and Hanley to the use of Stephen, prior of Trentham, John Wode of Keele, John Lago his son, and John Fenton, who came and took seisin at a relief of 6*s.* 8*d.* At Easter of 1480 the Great Inquest consisted of :—

John Colclogh.	John Bagenald.
Richard Amys.	Stephen Boterton.
Thomas Palyn.	John Hont de Longton.
Thomas Pessall.	Richard Sned.
Thomas Cowall.	John Bromley.
Richard Broñ.	William Glouer.

On the Small Inquest were :—

Thomas Tetenssor.	Roger Symson.
John Meer.	Richard Jekyn.
Thomas Hochyn, junior.	William Hochyn.
Thomas Hochyn, senior.	Richard Hondson.
John Machon.	William Wodcok.
Thomas Amys.	Nicholas Louot.

In 1487 the Easter Court Leet was held on a Friday, and the Michaelmas Leet on a Tuesday, but the Little Courts were held as usual on Saturdays. In 1497 the great inquest is styled, "Inquest for the King," and the small inquest, "Small inquest for the lord."

In 1508 the Great Courts or Courts Leet are held on Thursday, and in 1509 they are held on Monday.

It only remains to add that in and after Cromwell's time the place of meeting of the manor court, no doubt for the sake of convenience, was changed from Newcastle to Penkhull.

Penkhull was centrally situated for the suitors and the castle was now in ruins.

MANOR COURT ROLLS [P.R.O.].

*Bundle 230, No. 2, 3 Richard II to 4 Richard II.*

Curia parva manerii Novi Castri subtus Lymam tenta ibidem die Sabbati proximo post festum sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba anno regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum iiio.<sup>1</sup>

Inquisitio extraure unius agnelli precii iiid.

Willelmus Dawesone, Johannes de Keel, Rogerus Nickesone, Willelmus filius Willelmi, Rogerus Faunt, Thomas Rugges, Ricardus Louot junior, Johannes Amis junior, Willelmus Batesone, Willelmus Shakespere, Johannes Shakespere, Thomas Turmore presentant unum agnellum precii iiid.

Alan Batesone in misericordia (iid.) pro licentia concordandi cum Willelmo Willesone de Penkhull in placito transgressionis.

Hugo Hom in misericordia (iid.) pro licentia concordandi cum Ricardo Pauly in placito transgressionis.

Rogerus de Lond' queritur versus Johannem Jackesone in placito debiti et petit ab eo vid. quos sibi debet, etc.; qui venit et cognovit predictum debitum, ideo consideratum est quod predictus Rogerus recuperet debitum suum et predictus Johannes in misericordia (iid.) pro iniusta detencione sua.

Johannes de Shepbrugge per attornatum suum Johannem Whyte-churche capellanum queritur versus Willelmum atte Bothes in placito debiti et petit ab eo vjs. viiij*d.* quos sibi debet causa solut[ionis] pleg[i] et quia non venit ad re[spondendum] ideo preceptum est quod distringatur contra proximam (curiam). Qui venit et cognovit, ideo consideratum est [sic] et dictus Willelmus in misericordia (iid.) pro iniusta detencione sua.

Johannes Wyche queritur versus Thomam de Hall Clayton in placito debiti et petit ab eo vs. quos sibi debet pro certis terris sibi locatis ad dampnum de xij*d.* Qui non venit ad re[spondendum], ideo preceptum est quod distringatur contra proximam (curiam). Qui venit et cognovit, ideo et consideratum [sic] et predictus Thomas in misericordia (ij*d.*).

Johannes de Leye, Rector ecclesie de Herton' [Horton] per attornatum suum Thomam Stable queritur versus Nicholaum Brette in placito debiti et petit ab eo xiijs. iiij*d.* quos sibi debet pro uno bove ab eo empto ad dampnum de xl*d.* Qui non venit ad re[spondendum] ideo preceptum est quod distringatur contra proximam (curiam). Qui venit et cognovit, ideo consideratum est quod predictus Johannes recuperet debitum et predictus Nicholaus in misericordia (ij*d.*) pro iniusta detencione sua.

Willelmus de Fulford, senior, venit in curiam et cepit de domino duas landas terre in Wolstanton quas vxor eius quondam tenuit et inde obiit seisita tenendum predictas duas landas terre ad totam vitam et dat domino ad ingressum iiij*d.*

Johannes Bron' venit in curiam et cepit de domino viginti landas terre in Shelton quas Marior' Jolyff quondam tenuit tenendum predictam terram sibi et suis secundum consuetudinem manerii et dat domino ad ingressum ijs. viiij*d.* Firmarii: Benedictus le Machon, Willelmus Gefesone et Johannes de Clayton venerunt et ceperunt de domino minera[m] carbonum de Shelton ad terminum quinque annorum ex nunc proxime sequentem et reddent domino per annum ad iiij terminos xiijs. iiij*d.* Plegius Johannes Amys, senior. Summa iijs. iiij*d.*

<sup>1</sup> 22 October, 1379.

Curia magna et parva manerii Novi Castri subtus Lymam tenta ibidem die Sabbati proximo post festum sancti Luce apostoli et evangeliste anno regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum ii jo.<sup>1</sup>

Schelton. Franciplegii presentant quod Marior' Jolyff (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Thomas de Lym (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Willelmus Reynalds (vj d.) semel brasiavit et Thomas Rugges (vj d.) semel brasiavit.

Whytemore. Franciplegii presentant quod Robertus filius Stephani (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Hugo Turnour (vj d.) semel, Felicia Chaldon (vj d.) semel, Willelmus filius Henrici (vj d.) semel et quod Thomas atte Wode (vj d.) insultavit Johannem Clerk et for[ciavit ?] <sup>2</sup> (vj d.) eundem Johannem. Et quod Stephanus de Bromley (ij d.) et Johannes de Bromley (iiij d.) debent sectam de communi et non venerunt.

Hanley. Franciplegii non presentant quia omnia bene.

Hanchirche. Franciplegii presentant quod Ricardus Sompner (vj d.) debet sectam de communi et non venit.

Knutton et Dymesdale. Franciplegii presentant quod Ricardus del Schawe (iiij d.) debet sectam de communi et non venit et quod Rogerus Burgilon (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Nicholaus Brette (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Willelmus Baban (vj d.) semel brasiavit et quod Johannes de Roseley (ij d.) for[ciavit] Johannem Couper et traxit ab eo (ij d.) sanguinem et quod idem Johannes Couper (iiij d.) for[ciavit] predictum Johannem de Roseleg. Et quod Johannes Peek (ij d.) insultavit Johannem uxorem Ricardi Geffesone et quod Ricardus serviens Nicholai Brette iuste levavit [hutesium] <sup>3</sup> super David Rider (iiij d.) et quod Ricardus del Bothes (iiij d.) insultavit Ricardum Grobbere.

Longeton. Franciplegii presentant quod Stephanus atte Wode (iiij d.) debet sectam de communi et non venit et quod idem Stephanus (vj d.) semel brasiavit et Adam Bagenale (vj d.) semel brasiavit.

Fenton Vivian. Franciplegii presentant quod Willelmus Kene (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Willelmus Machon (vj d.) semel, Johannes Williamsone (vj d.) semel et Johannes Machon (vj d.) semel brasiavit et quod Henricus (ij d.) serviens Agnetis Gryffyn insultavit Adam servientem Johannis Hunde et quod idem Henricus (ij d.) insultavit Ricardum servientem Johannis de Honford.

Honeford et Clayton Griffin. Franciplegii presentant quod Thomas de Baltreley (vj d.) debet sectam de communi et non venit et quod Gregorius (ij d.) serviens Agnetis Gryffyn insultavit Adam servientem Johannis Hunte et quod idem Johannes iuste le[vavit] hu[tesium] super predictum Gregorium (iiij d.) et quod predictus Gregorius for[ciavit] predictum [Johannem] et traxit ab eo (vj d.) sanguinem et idem Johannes iuste le[vavit] hu[tesium] super predictum Gregorium (ij d.) et quod idem Gregorius (ij d.) insultavit Moris' servientem Johannis de Hondford.

Wolstanton. Franciplegii presentant quod Rogerus Fount (ij d.) insultavit Thomam le Smyth et quod Thomas (ij d.) insultavit predictum Rogerum et quod fossata Johannis Roper, junioris (vj d.) obstruunt cursum aque in via alta inter Wolstanton et le heth [heath] et quod Rogerus Fount (vj d.) semel brasiavit, Terdinet Breymare (vj d.) semel, Rogerus Fulford (vj d.) semel, Robertus Dawesone (vj d.) semel, filius Willelmi de Thyknes, junioris (vj d.) semel et quod Agnes de Boturdonc (vj d.) est communis t[er]re. . . .] <sup>4</sup> et quod Agnes (vj d.) uxor Rogeri Fount pro consimili et quod Agnes (vj d.) uxor Johannis Fount pro consimili et quod Gissot (ij d.) serviens Johannis Fount insultavit Amis' de Halle et quod Nicholaus Brette abduxit feminam Ranulphi Broke vi et armis tempore nocturno et contra pacem.

<sup>1</sup> The same date, 22 October, 1379, as the preceding small court.

<sup>2</sup> Forciare, "vim inferre," Gall. *forcer*, Ducange. But the extension is conjectural.

<sup>3</sup> Hue [and cry].

<sup>4</sup> Communis conviciatrix, "common scold," is frequent in court leet records, but the "t" here seems too distinct to have been meant for "c."

Penkhull.<sup>1</sup> Franciplegii presentant quod Johannes Symesone (ij*d.*) muleward debet sectam de communi et non venit et quod Johannes atte Bothes (vj*d.*) semel brasiavit et quod Henricus atte Bothes (vj*d.*) semel brasiavit et quod Juliane (vj*d.*) uxor Willelmi filii Ricardi semel brasiavit et quod Alanus Batesone (iij*d.*) insultavit Thomam de Tytenesore et quod idem Thomas (iij*d.*) insultavit predictum Alanum et quod Marior' uxor predicti Thome iuste le[vavit] hu[tesium] super predictum Alanum (iij*d.*) et quod Johannes (ij*d.*) filius Johannis de Tytenesovere insultavit predictum Alanum et quod Thomas de Tytenesovere (ij*d.*) insultavit Rogerum le Peyntour et quod idem Rogerus (ij*d.*) insultavit predictum Thomam et quod Johannes (xij*d.*) filius Thome Mason' insultavit Willelmum atte Bothes et for[ciavit] (vj*d.*) eundem Willelmum, [et] traxit ab eo (xij*d.*) sanguinem et quod Rector de Stoke obstruxit cursum aquae vocatum Foule Le et quod<sup>2</sup> Alicia atte Frereyate (ij*d.*) debet sectam de communi et non venit, ideo in misericordia et quod Alicia uxor Johannis Williamsone iuste le[vavit] hu[tesium] super Thomam Heywode (iij*d.*) et quod Thomas Haywode (vj*d.*) semel brasiavit et fregit assisam et vendidit per disc[um], ideo in misericordia.

[Another membrane.]

XII Jurati: Johannes Clerk de Whytemore, Nicholaus de Bromley, Adam de Bagenhale, Ricardus atte Conneshendd, Johannes Peyntour, Elys atte Wode, Willelmus de Whytemore, Willelmus Tebbe, Johannes Amys, senior, Johannes del Bothes, Ricardus de Hatton, Ricardus Louot presentant quod dominus Jacobus de Audeley tenet duas solidatas redditus percipiendas de terra Nicholai Brett in feodo de Knutton et vj*d.* de redditu percipiendos ibidem de terra Thome de Bromley unde preceptum est ballivo seisire predictas terras et redditus in manus domini quousque predictus dominus ostendat cartas suas.

Inquisitio. Thomas de Sheprugge, Willelmus de Tytenesovere, Rogerus Faunt, Johannes Faunt, Rogerus Nichollsone, Willelmus Tebbe, Johannes Amys, senior, Thomas Turmor', Willelmus de Bradewall, Johannes atte Oke, Johannes Williamsone, Johannes Robynsone presentant quod Johannes filius Henrici del Rugges qui tenuit de domino xlj landas et j fyther terre obiit; post cuius mortem accidit domino relevium et heres eius intravit et ideo preceptum est releviare, etc., et quia se intrusit<sup>3</sup> in terras predictas sine licentia curie ideo preceptum est distringere et facere finem iure, etc.

Item presentant quod Willelmus Ball qui tenuit de domino molendinum de Schelton ad firmam dedit et alienavit bona sua et catella [sic] in preiudicium et fraudem ad excludendum dominum de firma sua et tenent[es] domini ita quod non recuperarent aliquid de eo pro dicta firma solvenda, etc.

Item presentant quod Johannes de Colclogh tenet diversas parcelas terre de socagio et bondagio in Wolstanton inclusas infra hayas suas que solebant reddere per annum vs. vd. et nihil reddunt quia idem Johannes dicit quod predictae parcelle continentur in cartis suis, etc.

Nicholaus Brett queritur de franc[i]plegiis de Wolstanton in placito iniuste presentacionis et dicit quod iniuste presentant eum quod ipse abduxit feminam Ranulphi Broke vi et armis tempore nocturno contra pacem<sup>4</sup> ad dampnum xls. qui dicunt quod iuste presentant, unde Inquisicio capta est per sacramentum supra juratorum, etc., et habent diem de veredicto suo usque ad curiam proximam.

[The back of the membrane is mutilated and much of the writing illegible.]

Rogerus Smyth queritur versus Willelmum Mon in placito transgressionis et dicit quod obstruxit fossatum suum cum spin[is] ad dampnum

<sup>1</sup> Amercements totalled in margin at 6s. 6*d.*

<sup>2</sup> What follows has in the margin "Clayton et Sheperugge," but the remaining amercements are included in the Penkhull total (see above).

<sup>3</sup> intrusitr, MS.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 198.

xld. qui venit et cognovit in parte et petit taxacionem vicinorum suorum et postea per licentiam concordati sunt et predictus Willelmus [*sic*]. Idem Rogerus queritur versus eundem Willelmum in placito transgressionis et dicit quod depasturavit et destruxit blada sua cum aviriis [*sic*] suis ad dampnum de xld. Qui venit et cognovit in parte et petit taxacionem vicinorum suorum, etc. Idem Willelmus queritur versus predictum Rogerum Smyth in placito transgressionis, etc.

Ingressus. Thomas del Rugges venit in curiam et cepit de domino unum cotagium et medietatem unius cotagii et xlj landas et dimidiam landam terre in Shelton que et quas Johannes Rugges frater eius quondam tenuit et inde obiit seisisus, post cuius mortem predictum cotagium et dimidium cotagium et predicta terra accidit predicto Thome sicut recto heredi. Qui venit et inde cepit seisinam tenendum sibi et suis secundum consuetudinem manerii et dat domino ad ingressum vjs. viiijd.

[At a small court of Newcastle held there on Saturday next before the feast of the Translation of Saint Swithin the bishop (15 July) in 3 Richard II (1379) there is this item] :—

Willelmus de Brompton dat domino vjd. pro vj hominibus ad inquirendum de prostracione unius arboris vocate Crabbetre super terram suam in Wolstanton [*here occurs a huge blot*]. Johannes atte Oke, Willelmus de Bradewall,\* Willelmus Shakespere, Thomas Turmore et — Johannes Faunt et Johannes atte Medowe.\*

[At the foot of the membrane, and before the total of amercements levied is given, there occurs] :—

\* qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod dicta arbor vocata Crabbetre fuit crescens super solium Agnetis de Fulford que est heres Adam de Fulford et eadem Agnes dictam arborem prostravit licite et dominicum solium fuit dicti Adam et antecessorum suorum a tempore que memoria non est, ideo, etc.

[Total of all courts this year, £7 9s. 6d. ; Coal mine, 13s. 4d. There are eight membranes on this roll.]

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